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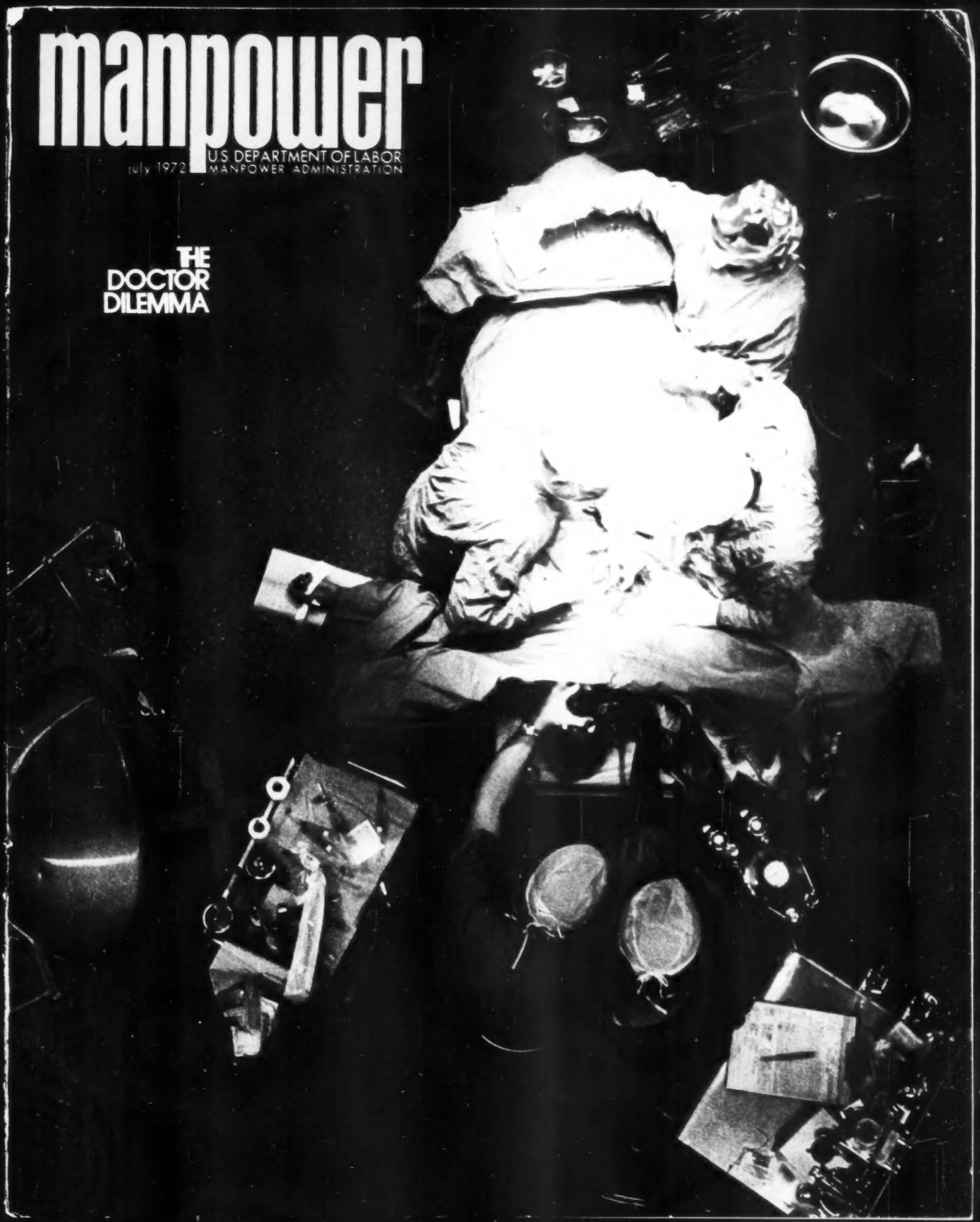
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
July 1972

THE DOCTOR DILEMMA



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volume 4 number 7 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
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Secretary of Labor

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Assistant Secretary for Manpower

Paul J. Fasser, Jr.
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Manpower Administrator

Ellis Rottman, *editor*
Emil Michael Aun, *associate editor*
Patricia Marshall, *assistant editor*
Richard Mathews, *art director*

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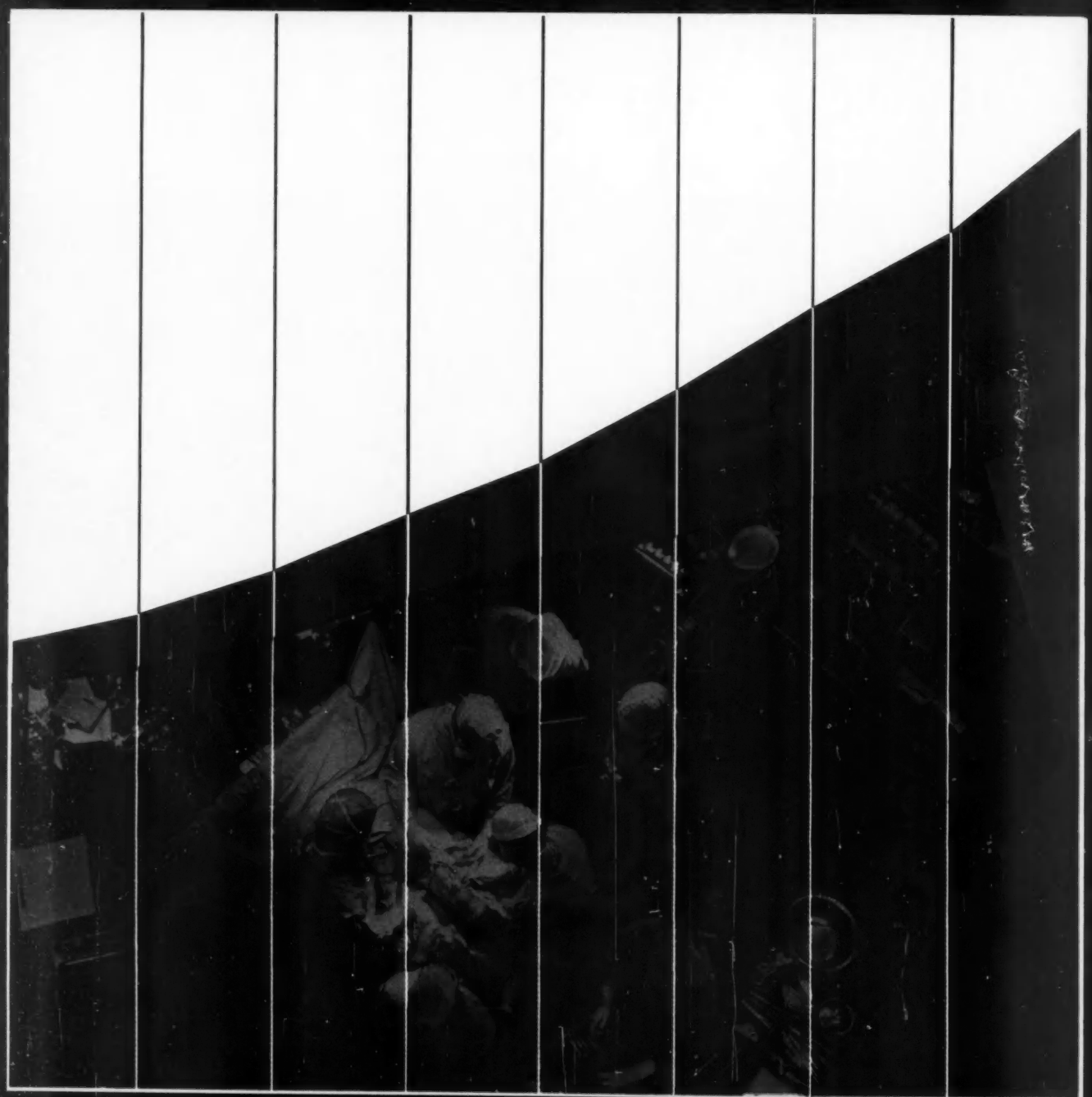


THE DOCTOR DILEMMA

by Kenneth M. Endicott, M.D.

With more than 4.5 million employees, the health industry has become the Nation's largest employer—a network of medical centers, hospitals, educational institutions, government agencies, clinics, offices, facilities, and people engaged in hundreds of activities to maintain and protect the Nation's health. Our supply of health workers has doubled in the past decade, yet the gap between the demand for and availability of the central figure in our medical care system—the physician—has never been as acute.

For more than 40 years the Nation has been suffering from a growing deficiency in the supply of physicians and other health professionals—dentists, nurses, optometrists, and the like. Today this manpower problem is a major reason behind a tarnishing image of the health professions, a changing pattern of medical care and medical economics, and a vast upheaval in the previously conservative, tradition-bound system of medical education.

As recently as 1950 most of today's physicians were not yet in practice. The Nation had about 233,000 physicians—149 per 100,000 people. Medical bills were lower than they are today—about $78 per person compared with about $358 last year. It wasn't as difficult to get an appointment with a physician or dentist as it is now; there were physicians in the inner city, and doctors even made house calls.

Today there are about 334,000 physicians—162 per 100,000 people—and they work an average of more than 50 hours a week. Yet we don't seem to have enough to go around.

What have we done with the added physicians who have come into practice in the past two decades? According to one recent survey, physicians earn a mean annual income of $40,550. They rank first in income among 321 occupations, according to the Census Bureau. Add these incentives to the rising demand for physicians and another question develops: Why haven't even more candidates stepped forward to fill the need?

The answers are as unsettling as they are complex. The reasons behind the physician manpower problem are the same ones which have pushed national spending on health to $75 billion annually and brought the Nation to the brink of medical crisis. Hopefully, some of the root causes of this situation are now in the process of correction through a variety of Government programs.

Much of the new physician manpower has gone simply to take care of the Nation's rapidly rising health workload. Demands for health manpower vary according to the size and distribution of the population, patterns of living, consumer income, the educational attainment of consumers, insurance coverage, and services for special groups such as the disadvantaged. Programs such as Medicare and Medicaid that help pay medical expenses also affect the demand for health care.

Ironically, a contributing factor to the physician supply problem has been the improvement in the quality of our physician manpower. According to a Department of Commerce survey, 26 percent of the Nation's physicians in 1929 were specialists, having undergone further study, training, and examination than the general practitioner. By 1959, 46 percent were specialists, and by last year, more than 75 percent were actively engaged in one of the specialties.

In 1971, the general practitioner, the primary provider of family care, accounted for only 17 percent of all physicians. The pediatrician might be considered the youngsters' general practitioner, but he accounts for only 5 percent of the physician work force. Internists, specialists in internal medicine, fill some of the void, but they account for less than 13 percent of the Nation's physicians. The result is that today about 118,000 physicians are engaged in a form of general practice, 5,000 less than in 1957.

Many Foreign Doctors Practice in U.S.

Much of the total increase in physician manpower that has occurred is accounted for by an influx over the past 25 years of some 63,000 graduates of foreign medical schools. They comprise one-fifth of our active physicians, about one-third of hospital interns and residents, and a similar proportion of newly licensed physicians. About 3,000 immigrant physicians and over 5,000 exchange visitor physicians enter the U.S. annually, with many of the exchange visitors later remaining here permanently.

Not only have we not kept pace with our own demands for physicians, but we are stripping the medical resources of some countries whose needs are greater than our own.

Compounding the problem still further is that few new physicians set up practice in areas where they are most needed. Every major city has one of those buildings where shiny brass plaques near the entrance identify the offices of perhaps dozens of physicians—mostly specialists. In some cities there are more doctors in one of those buildings than in an entire urban ghetto. In Washington, D.C., the virtually all-black Anacostia section had 67 doctors' offices in 1969 for a population of 217,000. On the other side of town, a

Dr. Endicott is director of the National Institutes of Health's Bureau of Health Manpower Education.

Although opportunities are increasing, minorities still are grossly underrepresented in the health professions. Blacks, for example, represent only 2 percent of the Nation's physicians. This intern, wearing a watch for timing obstetric contractions, is one of the 879 minority students who composed 7 percent —the largest proportion in history—of last year's graduating class.

primarily white neighborhood listed 347 doctors' offices for a population of 86,000.

Similar situations exist in other major cities. One study in Chicago shows one physician for every 518 people in the north section of the city, while a southside area has one physician per 1,724 residents. Few new physicians are setting up practice in poor areas, and in many of these underserved areas physicians are leaving for safety, financial, or other reasons. The suburbs, with their booming, affluent populations, are able to accommodate these relocating physicians plus all the new ones who wish to set up shop there.

Rural areas also are unable to draw physicians in adequate numbers. According to one study reported last year by the American Medical Association, "Rural counties of under 10,000 containing 2.5 percent of the population attracted less than 1 percent of the 1960-65 medical graduates. Counties in major metropolitan areas of more than 2 million attracted 17.1 percent of the graduates although they contained only 12.8 percent of the population. In fact, the ratio of population per physician is inversely related to total county population."

The difficulty in channeling more physicians into rural areas finally overwhelmed a joint program of the Sears-Roebuck Foundation and the American Medical Association late last year. Since 1956 the program had been attempting to lure physicians to rural areas by establishing 162 small-town medical centers. While about 100 of the centers are in operation, seven have never attracted a practitioner, 51 are vacant or have been converted to other uses, and many others have seen a procession of practitioners who stay for a year or two and then move on to greener pastures.

But the situation is far more serious than even 51 abandoned medical centers would indicate. There are 132 counties in the United States with a combined population of 472,000 people without a physician. Towns are finding themselves in the same plight as Tionesta, Pa., population 1,000, which early this year was flying a banner on its main street reading, "Help! We Need a Doctor." Tionesta has been without a physician for over 3 years. The banner, hanging for about 6 months, had not produced any applicants at last report.

And as if a maldistribution of physicians in terms of quantity, geography, and specialty were not enough, the situation is further complicated by serious racial imbalances. For example, the 23.5 million blacks who represent 11.5 percent of the Nation's population account for but 2 percent of the Nation's physicians, 2.7 percent of the dentists, and 5.7 percent of the professional nurses.

As recently as 10 years ago racial prejudice was perhaps the major factor preventing most young black students from aspiring to medical careers. Quota systems in professional schools, lack of financial help, the inadequacy of much of the dual education system, restrictions on staff privileges for black physicians in teaching institutions, and numerous other forms of discrimination all served to limit the opportunities and aspirations of black recruits into the health careers. Many of these barriers have largely disappeared; those which still remain are primarily economic pressures and, in some cases, poor quality education which too often handicap the black student in competing for admission to the Nation's 108 medical schools.

More than 35,000 applicants—a conservative estimate—are now being considered for the 12,970 places that will be available to the incoming class of medical students this fall. A significant number, possibly as many as one-third of the qualified applicants, will be denied admission simply because there is no room for them. Of those who enter, the combination of their qualifications, motivation, and aptitude will result in about 90 percent completing their studies. For some medical students it might be said that their last major obstacle to becoming physicians will be getting admitted to a medical school.

Schools Raise Admission Standards

Generally, medical training takes about 8 years from high school to M.D. degree, although specialists and researchers may continue training for another 2 to 5 and even more years. Most medical schools require a minimum of 3 years of college prior to admission. Some schools require the baccalaureate, many others recommend it.

Considering the medical school's reputation for tight admissions policies, prerequisite course requirements are not extensive—90 percent of the schools will accept qualified students with 1 year of biology, 3 years of chemistry (inorganic and organic), and 1 year of physics.

Admissions committees base their judgments on undergraduate grades, the candidate's score on the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT), personal interviews, and letters of recommendation. With competition so keen, medical schools are very definitely selecting the cream of the qualified applicants, leaving the others to pursue other careers. Mean scores on the MCAT are appreciably higher than they were a decade ago both for accepted and unaccepted applicants.

"A few years ago, any applicant with a straight B average in college was virtually assured of admission to some medical

Freshmen medical students at George Washington University (GWU) take notes during a physiology lecture.

school, and many admitted students had a lower grade average," wrote the dean of one medical school recently. "Today there are far more candidates with a 3.0 (B) average than can be accepted."

At another medical school, the chairman of the admissions committee says, "A rejection by the Committee on Admissions certainly does not imply that the student is not qualified to study medicine in this school. It merely indicates that other applicants have been evaluated a bit more favorably."

One barrier to obtaining a medical education, the cost to the student, has not risen as rapidly as one might expect during the past decade. According to the Association of American Medical Colleges, the average annual expense of medical students for tuition, lodging, board, and related costs has increased from $3,577 in 1963 to $4,394. The study showed resident tuition in public medical schools ranging from $387 to $1,215, and private medical schools from $950 to $2,500.

More than three-fourths of the income of medical students reported in the study came from a spouse's earning (29 percent), gifts or loans from the family (25 percent), and their own earnings (24 percent). By the time they graduate, 3 out of 5 medical students are married, and among this group the spouses are providing 50 percent of the cost of the medical student's education.

The student's economic plight certainly is not easy, and perhaps it is no wonder that one-fifth of the medical students come from families with incomes of $25,000 or more, although that group represents less than 5 percent of the total population.

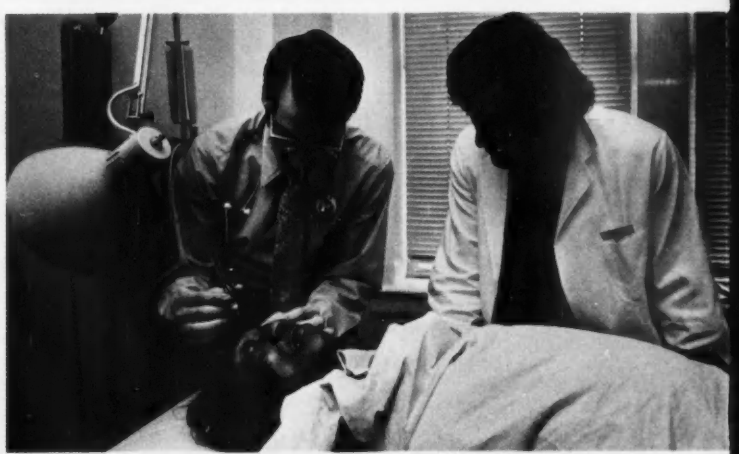
Money Squeeze Slows School Expansion

Despite the mental, physical, and economic challenge, young people seem to be turning to medicine in increasing numbers, both as a reflection of their desire to help others and as the result of a decline in job opportunities in other scientific and technical fields.

The major reason schools are not expanding fast enough to accommodate the demand is financial. The cost of educating a physician is difficult to measure. Typically the school itself encompasses, in addition to classrooms, a teaching hospital which provides medical care as well as education, and laboratories which conduct research as well as train the student. Faculty members may split their time among teaching, research, and patient care, all of which may be woven together in a manner which defies separation for cost accounting purposes.

The Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971 provides for a study to determine the costs of health professions education and to set up cost accounting standards for the health professions schools by Jan. 1, 1974. Until the study is completed, the best estimates place the cost of medical education at about $9,000 per undergraduate medical student per year. Since the highest tuition charged is $2,500, without Federal incentives there is obviously little reason for a school to expand enrollment.

The financial pinch which seems universal in higher education has been felt by the medical schools in various ways. In



Dr. Kenneth Joslyn explains (top) glaucoma testing procedure to GWU medical student Bernard Bass, demonstrates (center) the use of a tonometer to measure the pressure in a patient's eye for possible signs of the disease, and then checks (bottom) the result.

some schools needed improvements in physical plant were postponed. Expansion of enrollment was impossible. The traditional sources of support for medical education — fees charged for medical care; the philanthropy of various individuals, businesses, groups, foundations, and the like; tuition; and assistance from State governments—have not been enough to pay the bill.

For this reason the Federal Government in 1963 began to develop various health manpower programs. Under the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971 the assortment of programs aimed at increasing the supply of physicians and other health professionals now consists of:

- Grants to professional schools on a capitation (per-student) basis, with bonuses for increases in enrollment.
- Construction grants to schools of medicine and other health professions and loan guarantees and interest subsidies for school construction.
- Grants to assist new medical schools in opening.
- Grants for special projects to expand or improve training in the health professions.
- Grants to hospitals to provide training programs in family medicine.
- Health Manpower Initiative Awards to finance health education for areas where health services are in short supply.
- Training for health professions teachers.

Medical and dental students are assisted by a program of loans and scholarships of up to $3,500 a year, and loan forgiveness provisions for students who agree to practice in areas which have health manpower shortages.

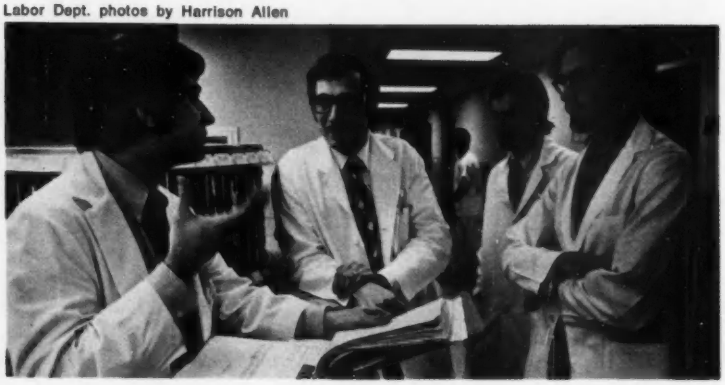
Black Enrollment Climbs to 7 Percent

The Federal programs are designed to encourage an expansion in medical school enrollment, greater practice of family medicine, better geographic distribution of physicians, and expanded enrollment in medical schools of minority students and students from disadvantaged backgrounds.

The transfusion of more than $1.4 billion over the past 9 years into the schools of the health professions has helped spur the greatest growth, improvement, and innovation since the modern system of medical education was established some 60 years ago. Where our medical schools graduated 7,300 M.D.s in 1963, this fall they will graduate about 9,000. Since 1965, 20 new medical schools have been established, more than in the previous three decades combined.

First-year black enrollment in medical schools has risen from 3 percent (265 students) in 1963 to 7 percent (879 students) in 1971. The intent of the 1971 health manpower

Labor Dept. photos by Harrison Allen



A student holds forth on a patient's records as Dr. Ronald Karpick (second from left) and two other students listen during medical rounds at George Washington University Hospital.

Working under the supervision of Dr. Jeff Crandall, student Allan Lewis examines a patient in the GWU Community Care Center.

With medical students observing and assisting, an orthopedic surgical team performs a knee replacement operation at GWU Hospital.

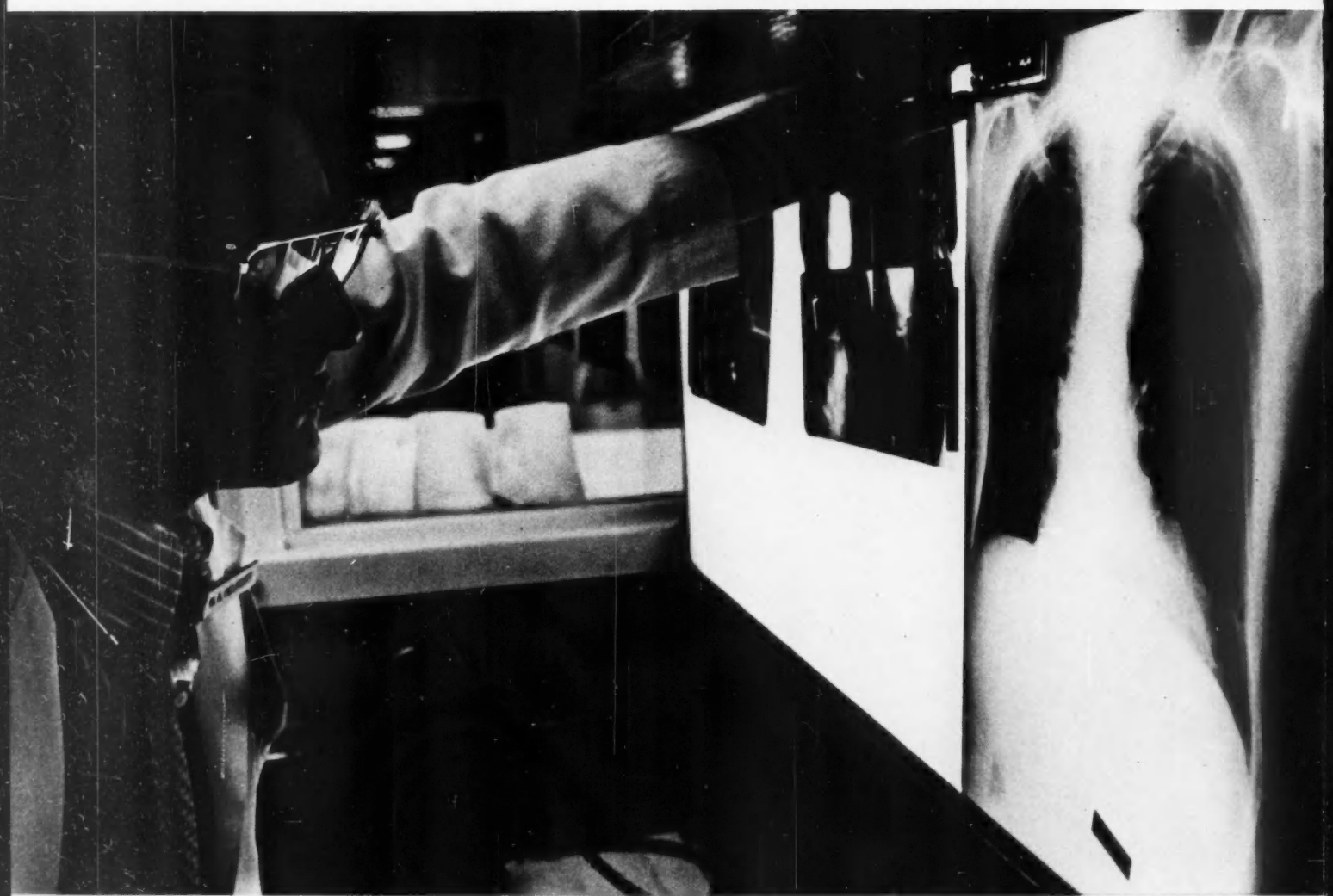
legislation is to eliminate the deficiencies in our health professions manpower pool by the end of the decade.

Within the schools the trend is toward shortened curricula, fewer required subjects, reemphasis of family medicine, integration of educational goals with the needs of the community, and development of auxiliary manpower.

Each of the Nation's 108 medical schools has introduced a new teaching program or is seriously considering such a step. At least 30 medical schools have shortened the traditional 4-year curriculum or plan to do so. Six of them offer

Senior medical student Brenda Kiessling checks kidney tissue for cross-matching in the GWU Hospital pathology laboratory.

Student Max Helfgott views X-rays during clinical clerkship in GWU Hospital emergency room.



an M.D. degree within 6 years after high school graduation. Johns Hopkins University has recently announced it will take students into its medical school as early as after the sophomore year of undergraduate school. Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania State University have joined in offering an accelerated program granting students a B.S. and M.D. degree in 5 years after high school graduation.

Today's medical student also can better tailor his courses to his needs and aspirations than the student of decades ago. He can select electives and, at a few universities, students are even encouraged to take courses outside the medical school. Stanford University School of Medicine no longer has any required courses. All courses are elective although most of them must be within a broad approved framework.

The University of Miami School of Medicine is conducting an experimental program which both shrinks the curriculum and tailors it to the needs of students who already have doctoral degrees in the biological, physical, or engineering sciences (*see Making Doctors [M.D.'s] of Doctors [Ph.D.'s]*, MANPOWER, November 1971). Twenty students are en-

rolled in this program, which began last September and is designed to make them M.D.'s in 2 years. Such a program can retrain scientists who wish to change careers or to combine their previous backgrounds with medical training.

Generations of medical students have nodded under hours of formal lectures, particularly in the first few years of medical school. Today's students have the technology and freedom to advance at their own pace, through courses they choose, with a minimum of lectures. At Ohio State University Pilot Medical School, first and second year students are learning from computerized teaching machines and a variety of audio-visual devices. Lectures have been almost completely eliminated. Students still meet together, however, for occasional seminars, lab sessions, and anatomical prosections.

Two of the newest medical schools, Michigan State University's College of Human Medicine and the Pennsylvania State University College of Medicine at Hershey, are stressing the training of family physicians. Michigan State, which admitted its first class to its medical school in 1966, was founded with the idea that training in a university hospital was too specialized for the future general practitioner. Students there are receiving all their clinical training in community settings through a system of community-wide, nonprofit health education corporations.

Specialists in Family Medicine Certified

These corporations, which are being formed in five cities and planned in others, include the health care facilities in which teaching will take place. The community furnishes the facilities and the physicians to staff them. The college supplies the students and the faculty supervisors. But control of these corporations is vested in the community. This approach combines the production of more physicians in a needed area of practice with the provision of needed community health services.

Another interesting indicator of renewed emphasis on general practice is the certification of more than 3,200 physicians, mostly former general practitioners, as specialists in family medicine by the new American Academy of Family Physicians. Hopefully, the recognition of this new specialty will encourage more students to enter this field.

A number of schools are demonstrating their recognition of the communities around them through new kinds of experiments. Johns Hopkins, for example, is developing comprehensive care plans for some residents of Baltimore's inner city and a suburban community. And the University of South Alabama Medical College is planning to set up a prepaid group practice offering comprehensive care to the university community in Mobile and clinical training for medical students.

In still another direction, efforts to improve health services and increase physician productivity are being attempted through the use of new types of allied health workers, although progress has also brought problems of a special nature. About 3,250 formal programs now exist in colleges and junior colleges for training allied health manpower. Much publicity has gone recently to the 20-odd programs training a new type of worker called the physician's assistant.

Length of Training Bars Rapid Solution

The development of this new occupation can serve as an example for several problems in the allied health field. Programs to train physician assistants came about as a result of local needs. Since these needs vary, the training programs vary, and consequently there are different kinds of physicians' assistants. They are felt in some quarters to be encroaching on duties which might be performed by an existing specialty—a nurse, or technician, for example. Others are warning that the public will be unwilling to settle for the services of a physician's assistant, although he may be perfectly adequate in many cases. Finally, there are significant legal obstacles in some States which prevent effective use of the physician's assistant, prohibiting him from treating patients, fixing responsibilities for all his actions on the physician, and preventing both physician and assistant from obtaining insurance coverage.

The problems, however, are similar to those which have been encountered in the development of many of the new allied health occupations that have emerged over the past few decades. They can be overcome and the training of more physicians' assistants is being encouraged under the provisions of the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971.

The attack on the physician manpower problem, encompassing a variety of approaches, is thus making slow but significant progress. The vast numbers involved and the time required to train the physician prevent any really rapid solutions, but the impact of what is being done should soon be felt in those geographic and specialty areas where the need is greatest. In addition, when more physicians are coupled with new kinds of auxiliary medical personnel and new ways of using physician manpower, the result should be a more efficient health care system that can magnify the effects of increased numbers. □

Education. Jobs. and Race

An Interview With Benjamin Mays

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, now president of the Atlanta Board of Education, has been a leading educator for some 40 years. The youngest of eight children of a South Carolina cotton farmer who had been born into slavery, Dr. Mays worked his way through high school, college, and his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago.

From 1940 to 1967 he was president of Morehouse College and before that he served 6 years as dean of the school of religion at Howard University. He was a member of the National Committee for the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth and is a member of the U.S. National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). He was a teacher and close friend of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

In the following interview with William I. Allgood, U.S. Department of Labor regional information director in Atlanta, Dr. Mays gives his views on a variety of topics, including preparing young people for the world of work.

Q. Many people believe that if blacks obtain equality in jobs and income other problems they have encountered, such as housing discrimination, would evaporate. Do you agree with that view?

A. In part. I think if we gain equality in jobs and income there will be less discrimination, but I do not believe it will evaporate. For example, Ralph Bunche had difficulty after he had won a Nobel peace prize; it was not in Georgia, it was in New York. In earlier days Willie Mays, one of our most popular baseball players at that time—he is still very popular—had considerable difficulty in finding housing in a so-called white neighborhood when he first went to California. The black people who have moved into the neighborhood where I live here in Atlanta have all been equal economically to the white people who elected to move out after the black people began to move in. I suspect they had more academic training than the whites who were here. Equality in jobs and income would help a great deal, but to think that it would end discrimination is expecting too much.

Q. Is there too much emphasis in the black community on college education? Wouldn't better vocational education, leading more and more blacks into higher paid jobs in top blue-collar trades, be just as helpful in promoting the welfare of blacks?

A. I wouldn't state it quite that way. Rather than say that too much emphasis has been placed on college education, I would say that too little emphasis is placed on the technical and the vocational. When you consider that blacks make up about 11 percent of the population of this country but account for only about 6 percent of total college enrollment, it is apparent we are way behind. We don't have enough doctors, enough nurses, enough lawyers, enough trained ministers, or enough people trained in finance and banking. These are people who need a college education.

I do believe, however, that a good many people have been encouraged to go to college when they should have been encouraged to go to a technical or vocational school. Any man who has a job that enables him to make a living and that is beneficial to mankind has no need to apologize to anybody for what he is doing. If all these lights go out right now the Georgia Power Company may send a man out here who is a 10th grader or who has just finished high school. In this particular area, he is my superior and he doesn't have to feel inferior to anybody. This is the emphasis that should be placed upon skills. Nobody is superior in everything.

Q. How can we inculcate this? We are caught up in a system of urging youngsters from the day that they are aware of the future to go to college. Parents do it, peers do it, teachers do it.

A. It is very difficult to overcome this, because often you are dealing with parents who have not been trained themselves. Somehow, they think it is much better if their children are doctors or lawyers. Until we get to the point where we place value on the contribution that a man makes to the community, we are going to have this attitude. It might be well to emphasize that electricians and brick masons and painters often make far more money than public school teachers and sometimes more money than college professors. It is a terrible thing to say, but I think that if you begin to emphasize the monetary gain, it might change the picture a little bit.

Q. There has been a great deal of discussion lately about what has been termed "career education"—broader exposure to and better preparation for the world of work. Among other things, this will require deeper involvement of business and labor with the schools. How can we get business and labor more deeply involved in preparing young people for work?

A. One thing labor can do is to stop discriminating against black workers. Some progress is being made but we know labor is still perhaps a worse offender than management on this whole question of not permitting the black man to learn skills. When it comes to business, we have an experiment here in the public schools. A group of students go to school about 3 or 4 hours a day and then go downtown somewhere and work. A youngster may go to a health center, to a hospital, to a business concern. He is getting his high school training and at the same time he is exploring and learning some trade, some technical job. More of this will have to be done.

We also will have to expand what we call area technical schools. The percentage of students from the Atlanta area technical school who get jobs after they complete their courses —which may range from a few months to 2 or maybe 3 years —is very high. Businesses will have to cooperate to make this approach succeed. The students go to school and to a job in the afternoon or night, and they are paid for it. We must expand the opportunities for students to earn on a job.

Q. In your autobiography you say that education and religion have not abolished racism. You point out that the Jew still suffers from discrimination despite the tremendous contribution he has made to human society. This is a quote: "When I consider the Jew, I find no comfort in history for the Negro's plight." Isn't that terribly pessimistic?

A. No, I don't think so. I think that is very realistic. You must keep in mind that the Jew doesn't have the handicap of being a different color. Now if he has difficulties, being white, and having made the kind of contribution to mankind that he has made, it will be worse for the Negro. If anti-Semitism is worldwide, I think it is a mistake for black men to expect that prejudice against them is going to evaporate soon.

I also said in my autobiography that I believe it is possible for black people and white people to live together in the same community, to respect each other, and to appreciate each other for what we are and for what contributions each group is making. That doesn't necessarily say that black people will have no prejudice against white people, and white people will have no prejudice against Negroes. I think this is facing the situation as it is and as it has been in history over a long period of time. I don't think you can call that pessimism.

Q. You say in your autobiography that you believe in black colleges. Is this counter-productive to desegregation?

A. Not at all. When white people advocate closing black colleges, what they really are saying is: "We have kept you out all this time, but now we are going to let you in, so let your institution die. It's not worth saving. Integration doesn't work unless you move from black to white."

It is a subtle kind of discrimination to say that if black colleges keep on existing, they are perpetuating segregation. If you follow this to its logical conclusion, why shouldn't the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Co., which is a billion dollar business, owned and managed by black people, close? Are they perpetuating segregation? Why shouldn't they fold up and go to Metropolitan? You don't expect Catholic schools to go out of business even though they may be perpetuating

'Any man who has a job that enables him to make a living and that is beneficial to mankind has no need to apologize to anybody for what he is doing.'

Catholicism. We take for granted that Catholic colleges have a right to exist. Brandeis and other Jewish colleges have a right to exist. Nobody accuses them of perpetuating a certain brand of religion or culture. Should black churches close and all black people join white churches?

I think it is wonderful for the Nation and for the black image in education that we have Howard University, which is the nearest thing that black people have to a real university. Howard has maybe 10,000 students, white and black, from all over the world, and it has teachers of all nationalities and ethnic groups, all under the leadership of a black man. This is a symbol of the black man in education.

Q. A moment ago you were talking about an insurance company being black owned and operated. In your autobiography you say the danger of black capitalism is that it may depend upon a segregated Negro population to keep going. Would you go into that further?

A. Black capitalism has meant—and it still seems to mean —black-owned businesses in areas where black people live. I take it that when you talk about black capitalism you are not talking about black people going out in Buckhead or Sandy Springs (white communities) to establish banks and insurance companies. The help we get for black capitalism is designed primarily to build businesses where black people are. You call it black capitalism. Now my argument is that Negroes are not in a position to make black capitalism a separate, viable economy. You cannot separate black capitalism from capitalism in this country. Black banks have to serve everybody and black insurance companies must serve everybody. It would be a puny thing if we talk about capitalism in terms of serving black people only.

Q. Dr. DuBois, the noted black American historian and educator, once said the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line. Do you believe that is still true?

A. Yes, I do. Why do I say so? We have complete freedom of movement and segregation by law is no more. It is possible for black and white people to work side by side and to eat side by side in restaurants. Progress has been made but we haven't gotten to first base in desegregating housing in this country, North or South. A Negro would find it just as difficult to move into an affiuent neighborhood in the North as in the South. The North and the South bitterly oppose the construction of low income housing in the suburbs. This seems to me an illustration of how deeply rooted racism is in the United States. The great controversy over school busing is another example, because busing is, essentially, a racial issue.

Q. Some people contend that school desegregation is making better progress in the South than in the North. You are the president of the Atlanta Board of Education. Do you believe that to be true and, if so, why?

A. I do not have enough factual data on this. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has said so. I don't quite know how they arrive at that conclusion. If there is a difference, I think it lies in the fact that the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court was aimed at segregation by law—a segregation that was written into State constitutions and that in the past had been upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. The court decision was aimed not at de facto segregation, but at segregation by law. This being true, most of the cases involved in busing have been aimed at the South because the South had complete legal segregation. And this makes an honest comparison between the South and the North very difficult. The North had never excluded black people from the schools, although considerable de facto segregation existed there. It may be that the South is battling with the problem more sincerely than the North.

Q. How do you feel generally about desegregation in the South, the inroads being made to desegregate the general culture in the South, compared to the Nation?

A. You will find absolutely no difference between the North and the South when it comes to freedom of movement such as hotels, motels, restaurants. Blacks are working with whites in banks and department stores and other places. On that point, the South deserves considerable credit because all this has happened within the last 10 or 12 years. Of course, I think segregation in the public schools and the churches will be with us a long time in the North and in the South.

Q. You are an affluent, highly educated man, who has established your place in life, based on your own ability and achievements. Is there a difference in the prejudices you might encounter and those faced by a less educated, less affluent, less successful black?

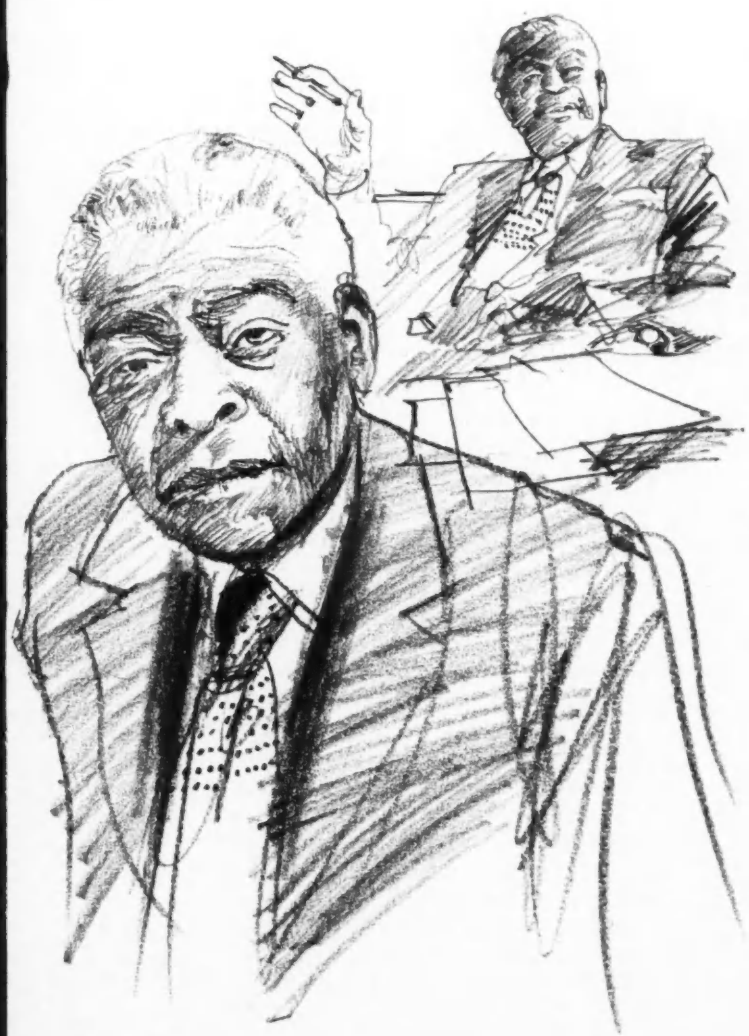
A. There was no difference say 15 or 20 years ago. Regardless of a man's education or attainments, if he was black he was treated just like a man who had not been to school. He had to buy his ticket in a segregated waiting room; he couldn't eat in a restaurant; he couldn't stay in a hotel. Wealth and attainment made no difference, if you were a Negro. It doesn't make any difference today either, because an uneducated man goes just about where I can go if he has the money to pay for it. When the legal barriers were broken down they were broken down not only for the educated Negro but for the less educated Negro.

I think, however, I should comment on this: There is a difference between the black man's prejudice against the white man and the white man's prejudice toward the black man. I know all generalizations have in them an element of error, but I do think that prejudice against the Negro on the part of the white man stems from the fact that so many whites are convinced that they are superior to blacks. The black man's prejudice is one of resentment—primarily resentment that he has not been given the opportunities and the chances that are guaranteed to him in the Constitution of the United States.

Q. Is this what you had in mind when you said in your autobiography "integration in my terminology means desegregation"?

A. Yes. We must distinguish clearly between desegregation and integration. When the courts opened public schools and universities, golf courses, and swimming pools, abolished segregation on dining cars in interstate travel and on buses, and

'. . . my argument is that Negroes are not in a position to make black capitalism a separate, viable economy. You cannot separate black capitalism from capitalism in this country.'



abolished the white primary, they were not integrating they were desegregating. When sit-ins and boycotts and picketing opened restaurants and hotels, this, too, was desegregation and not integration. This is also true when a church votes to drop the color bar. The church is desegregating, not integrating.

Desegregation means the absence of segregation. Integration means unification and mutual adjustment of adverse groups or elements into a harmonious society and culture. In an integrated society, fellowship, comradeship, and neighborliness have no limits or boundaries based on nationality, race, or color. Associations will be formed mainly in the realm of spiritual, mental, and cultural values. Integration is largely spiritual. For example, I just returned from San Francisco and black people and white people were sitting next to each other, but that was not an integrated airplane, that was a desegregated airplane.

I reject the word integration because you can't pass a law to integrate a community. You cannot hand down a decision by the United States Supreme Court to integrate. The only thing you can do is to desegregate society and integration is something that you will grow into. You cannot do it by the courts or by Congress.

Q. How close are we to being through with the legal impediments to full integration or desegregation?

A. I think we are making good headway on the legal aspect of desegregation, not integration. I don't think the time will come when Negroes will be disenfranchised again. I think the ballot is here to stay. I don't expect a repeat of what happened after 1877. I don't believe the time will come again when our public accommodations will be segregated by law, or even by custom. I think we are over the hump there. We are still going to have difficulty in some small towns in the South when Negroes begin to register and vote in large numbers, but I think the legal aspect of this is going very well. Legal segregation of the public school is no more. My feeling is that busing should be a local matter. Here is a school system where busing is working well; leave it alone. And here is another situation where the people in the community say the only way we can have better education for everybody is to do some busing. The situation is not the same everywhere and I don't believe we can have any one law that covers every community in the United States when it comes to busing.

Q. Real income for black families rose about 80 percent between 1955 and 1969, from a median of $3,485 to $6,191, according to the Census Bureau. In that same period, real income for white families rose only about 54 percent, from a median of $6,332 to $9,794. How does that square with the statement in your autobiography that "no one can deny the masses of Negroes are little if any better off than they were before 1954"?

A. Well, even in the figures you cite, the dollar gap between median black family income and median white family income increased between 1955 and 1969. In 1955 the gap was about $2,800, in 1969 it was about $3,600. So I wouldn't call that a significant gain, plus the fact that the percentage of black people on welfare was just as high in 1969 as it was in 1954.

'Middle-class blacks, those with some training, have made tremendous progress since 1954, but not the masses of black people.'

The percentage of black people living in the ghettos and slums hasn't changed much either. Middle-class blacks, those with some training, have made tremendous progress since 1954, but not the masses of black people. I don't have the statistics right at my finger tips at the moment, but unemployment is still about twice as high for blacks. Take Atlanta. A recent study shows that central-city blacks have an unemployment rate almost double that of whites and that blacks have about half the average income of whites. I expect that would be fairly typical of other cities throughout the United States.

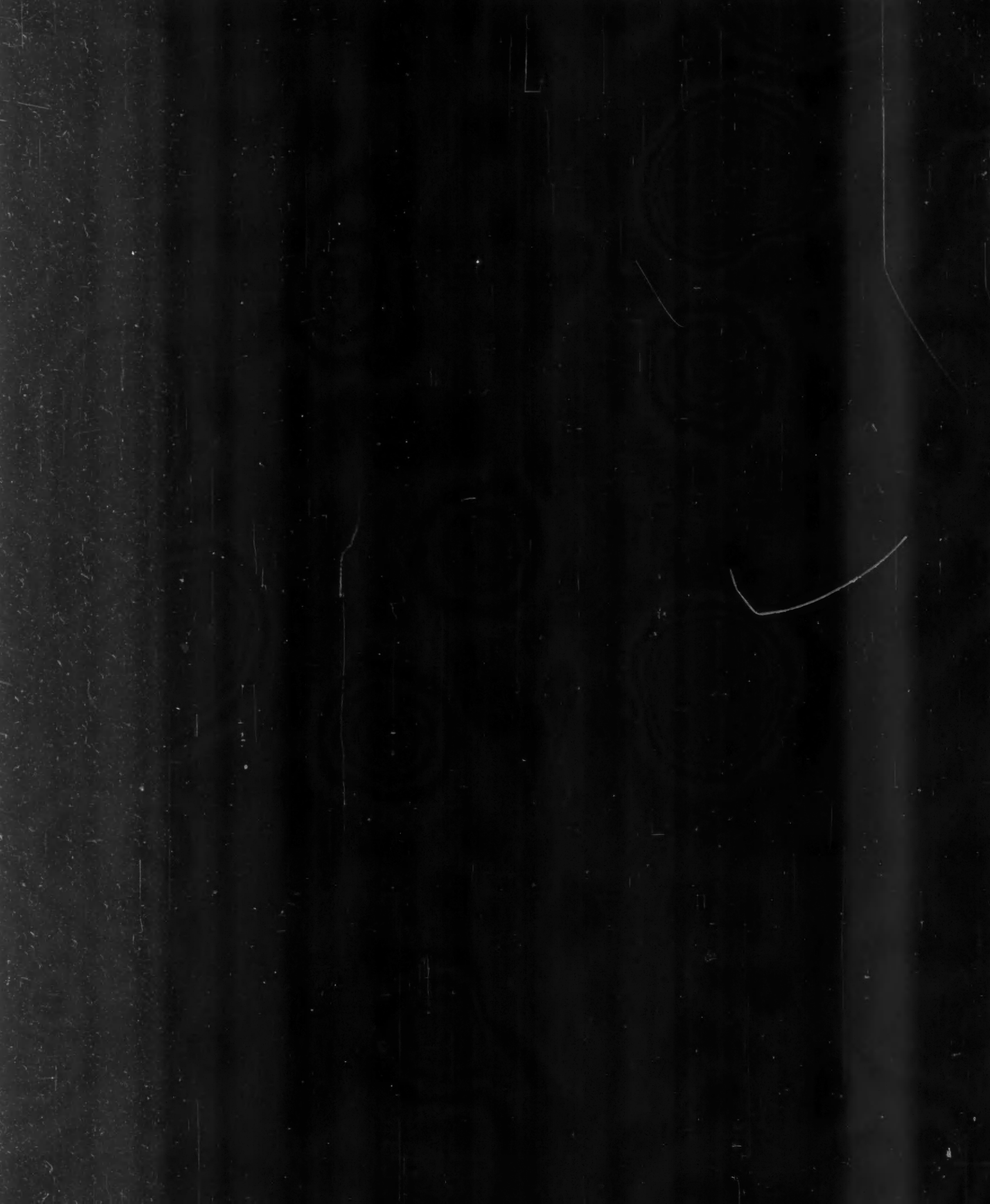
We must remember that only a very small percentage of blacks have white-collar jobs or good blue-collar jobs. I suspect that the vast majority of black people in this country are getting less than $5,000 a year, and until you can bring this man at the bottom up considerably, I think we are building on dynamite.

Q. As a black man and an educator interested in the total community, what advice do you have for America's white young people? The black young people?

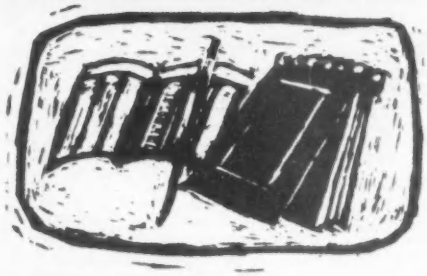
A. In recent years white youth have been rebelling against the status quo on college campuses. They have wanted to set things right. I hope they will show that same enthusiasm and desire to set things right when they get into positions of power —when they become the mayors and the governors, presidents, and the attorney generals, and the heads of big businesses. I should hope that they would have something to say about whether black people and white people should live together in the same community.

I hope they will want to join hands with their black brothers to gain equality for everyone in this country. That happened in the final days of the civil rights movement. White people, young and middle age, joined hands with black people. The white youngster must understand that we have got to move this country forward in implementing every aspect of the American Constitution and he should oppose polarization of the races. Perhaps he is in a better position to do this than his parents or the older people.

As for black youth, I have said, and I still say: "Yes, I am for black awareness and I am for black power—and black is beautiful." But rhetoric doesn't train your mind. Rhetoric doesn't give you any skills. I don't see any way out for black youth but to work hard and try to develop their minds and learn some skills. I say to them, as I would say to whites, or to anybody, a man is respected in this world only because he knows how to do something well and he has a skill that the community needs. But he shouldn't expect anybody to be easy on him because he has a skill. And he shouldn't expect anybody to be easy on him because he has been discriminated against, because he has been segregated, or because his ancestors were slaves. He should expect, however, special opportunity to overcome handicaps of the past. You may not escape being discriminated against if you are competent. But if you are not competent, if you are not trained, welfare will be your lot. Now this is hard talking to black youth. Many of them are not willing to pay the price and think that because they are black something has to be given to them. It is not going to be given to them and the earlier they understand this, the better. □



News & Notes



"Much of the current societal unrest exists because of a lack of emphasis on career education for all and an overemphasis on college degrees that are, in reality, available to relatively few," according to a new book, "Career Education, What It Is and How To Do It." The book calls for an end to the "false notion that a 4-year college education is the surest and best route to successful employment." Noting that 83 percent of Americans will never attain a 4-year college degree, the book notes that "it is time that education serve best this real majority of our citizens." Career education, the book says, is "the sum total of those experiences of the individual associated with his choice of, preparation for, entry into, and progress in occupations throughout his occupational life." Elementary schools are doing the best job of implementing career education, the book says, while "colleges are farthest away, still allocating the education dollar through selection practices to those who need education most." It charges the graduate schools with "perpetuating artificial and irrelevant entrance requirements to some of the best paid occupations."

* * *

The new Job Corps Residential Support Center in Davenport, Iowa, is now open. It is being operated under a $324,114 2-year contract by Iowa East Central T.R.A.I.N., Inc., of Davenport. The acronym stands for Teach, Rehabilitate, Aid Iowa's Neglected, a nonprofit organization. Funded by the Manpower Administration, the new center will provide training and living quarters for 30 young women, aged 16 through 21, from low-income backgrounds, who are out of school and lack skills to hold a job.

* * *

The Department of Labor has established a goal of hiring 50 percent Vietnam-era veterans out of all new male regular employees, Secretary of Labor J. D. Hodgson has announced.

* * *

The Louisville Board of Education has been awarded a 2-year $2 million Manpower Administration contract to establish and operate the Whitney M. Young, Jr. Residential Manpower Center in Simpsonville, Ky. The Job Corps center will serve about 200 young men, 16 through 21.

The Department of Labor has allocated an additional $13 million in Operation Mainstream funds for fiscal 1972 to finance 5,000 more work openings for senior citizens. The oldtimers will work on locally sponsored projects that provide needed public services or improve the physical or social environment.

* * *

Most Job Corps youngsters who go after their high school certificates are getting them. Manpower Administrator Paul J. Fasser, Jr., has announced that the Job Corps Advanced General Education Development (GED) Program achieved an 85 percent success rate among trainees during fiscal 1971. Of 4,131 who completed the program, 3,508 were awarded GED certificates recognized by State education agencies as the equivalent of a high school diploma. The GED program operates at all 69 Job Corps centers and is available to any Corps member who wishes to participate.

* * *

A "Pledge a Job for a Veteran" campaign in Sioux City, Iowa, in April turned up 600 job pledges from 400 local firms. The local Chamber of Commerce, various veterans groups, and the Iowa Employment Security Commission cooperated in the campaign. It began with a breakfast at which more than 100 people agreed to go out and get the job pledges.

* * *

The dentist of the future will direct a small corps of auxiliaries who will perform many of the duties heretofore reserved to the dentist. That's the prediction of Dr. Kenneth M. Endicott, director of the Bureau of Health Manpower Education, National Institutes of Health. He said that by 1975, some 45 percent of all dentists in practice will have taken special training in the use of auxiliaries in a program sponsored by his Bureau. These dentists will be able to treat up to 75 percent more patients than dentists who still work alone, he said. Despite progress in the field, Dr. Endicott noted, "only 40 percent of the American people receive regular dental care. Even with our trailblazing, the Nation still falls short of providing dental care for children, particularly those from low-income families, 75 percent of whom have never been to a dentist."

Remodeling the Employment Service

by Emil Michael Aun

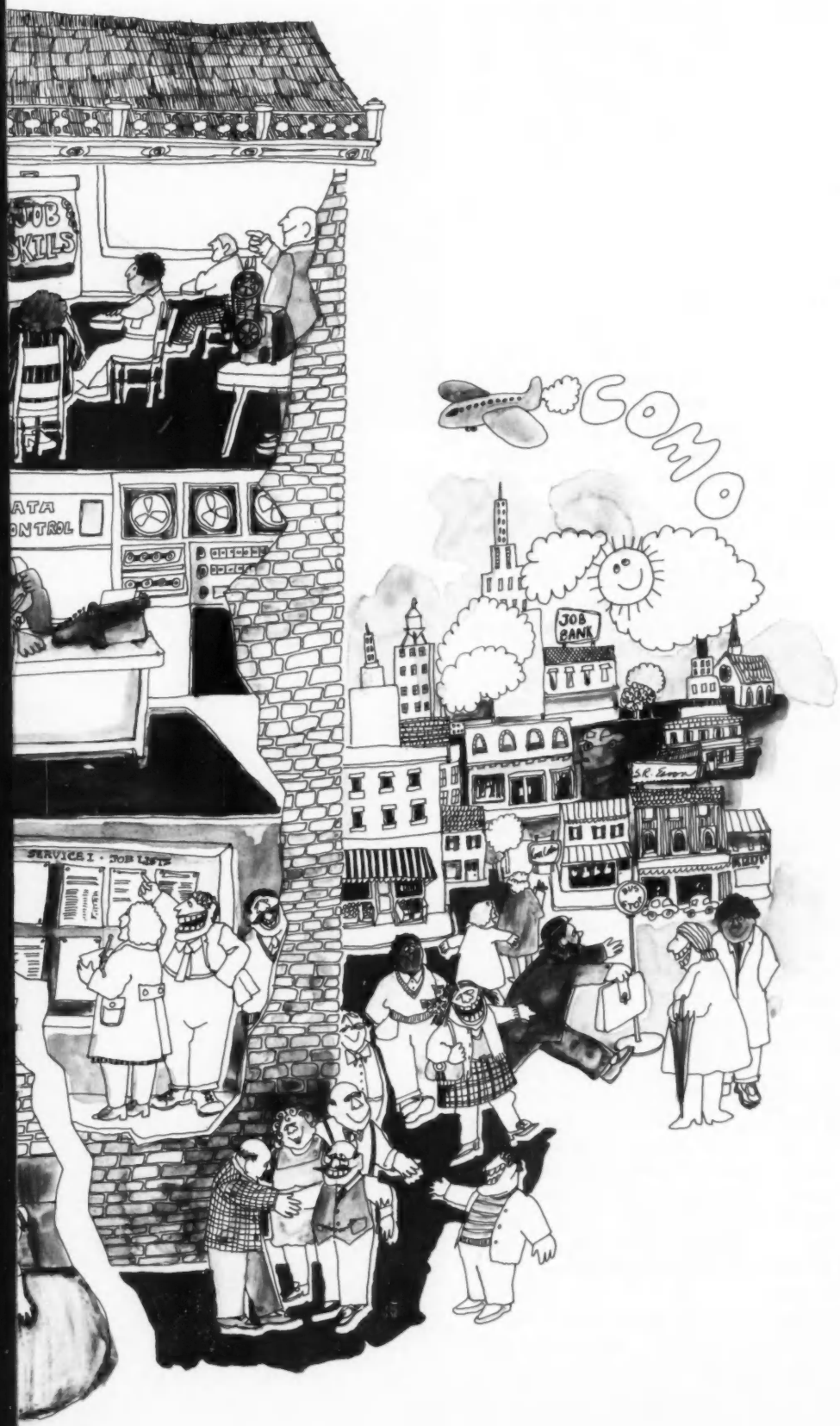
In a new film, "Job Story," produced by the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration, an unemployed electronic technician refuses to go to the "unemployment service" to look for work. "The only types of jobs they have are janitors and day laborers," he says.

A female companion corrects him. It's the State employment service not the unemployment service, she says, and the agency has jobs for engineers, scientists, and technicians as well as blue-collar workers. And since she works for the employment service, she takes him on a tour of a modern local office, with its computerized Job Bank, Job Information Service, and Labor Market Information Section.

This movie dramatizes the central concern of the employment service today—to transform itself into a modern, comprehensive manpower system and to enlist the support of employers and jobseekers without whom the transformation would be impossible.

A promising experiment, now 2½ years old, may be the answer. It is the Comprehensive Manpower Office, abbreviated to COMO. Initially installed in 10 cities and one rural area, COMO seeks to restructure the local employment service office so that each jobseeker receives services tailored to his own needs. Its record so far, while not perfect, has been one of solid achievement, according to a study done

Mr. Aun is associate editor of MANPOWER.



for the Manpower Administration by Abt Associates, a social science research and development company.

Jobseekers who come to COMO offices are getting better service, according to Abt. So are employers. Job placements have increased, more staff time is being devoted to unemployed people who need a great deal of help to prepare for work, and job-ready applicants are being processed more speedily and efficiently. These accomplishments have taken place without any "add-ons"—additional money or staffers.

COMO came about as a result of the new manpower programs of the 1960's with their emphasis on aiding the disadvantaged, and the increasing concern of the Nation with equal employment opportunities for minorities. For most of its history, the State employment service, funded by the Federal Government but operated by the States, was mainly concerned with administering unemployment insurance and with placing in jobs qualified applicants who chose to come to the local office. Its primary service usually was to the employer and the job-ready applicant, because there were generally more jobseekers than jobs.

Interviewers Specialized

Over the years the employment service developed an industrial-occupational system which divided placements into five major categories—professional and clerical, skilled and semiskilled, unskilled, service, and day work and casual. This permitted an employment service placement interviewer to specialize and to become increasingly familiar with the needs of employers in his specialty. Close ties were developed with employers, which prompted interviewers to send out the best possible applicants—thus screening out many people, often minorities, from good-paying jobs.

The manpower programs of the 1960's shifted the emphasis away from this labor exchange philosophy toward efforts to enhance the employability of the disadvantaged. Local employment service offices became responsible for interviewing and referring people not only for jobs but also for training under programs growing out of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), the Economic Opportunity Act, and similar legislation.

These programs and the innovations they spawned to help people with special job problems gradually led to the development of the COMO concept. As explained in a June 1969 Manpower Administration paper, the purpose of COMO was "to present a new local office system for delivery of manpower services—providing for new functional groupings and functional relationships—which can eventually serve as the model for the complete restructuring of all local offices to enable them to serve as comprehensive manpower agencies. The signicant feature of this change is the fact that services to mainstream applicants have been streamlined so as to free staff to provide more intensive services to less competitive and less qualified applicants."

This restructuring was to be achieved without additional staff and money for the employment services. It called for abandonment of the industrial-occupational system, under which fairly in-depth individual interviews were conducted with, and full applications taken on, each jobseeker, even the job-ready. Instead, the basic COMO model calls for three levels of service, based on applicant needs:

- Service I, for applicants who are job-ready and need nothing more than information on where to go to apply for a job.
- Service II, for applicants who are essentially job-ready but need some assistance.
- Service III, for the disadvantaged and other applicants who require extensive help to compete in the job market.

The COMO model calls for intake; outreach; assessment and orientation; job order taking, distribution, and control; employer services; community relations; statistical reports; and staff training to be handled by centralized components that support and augment all three levels of applicant services.

This design permits most staff members normally doing interviewing, placement, and verification of job orders and referrals to be reassigned to employability teams for the disadvantaged or to employer services.

The COMO concept envisions Service I as essentially a self-help operation. Job-ready applicants are exposed to lists of jobs grouped by occupational categories. They select possible openings based on their own evaluation of their abilities and needs. This procedure—called the Job Information Service—is made possible by the computerized Job Bank, which daily produces a list of employment openings, with skill requirements and wages offered.

If a job-ready applicant finds an opening he likes he tells the employment service staff member stationed there to help. The opening is checked with the referral control unit and if it is still available the applicant is referred to the employer. In most cases, no phone call to the employer to set up an appointment is necessary.

Service I also includes a labor market information library for use by students, employers, and community agencies as well as jobseekers. This library contains a variety of printed material from Federal, State, local, and private sources about jobs, the labor market, training programs, and how to go about looking for work and planning a career.

Team Caseloads Limited

The staff time saved by not interviewing Service I applicants is used to give more intensive attention to the needs of Service II and III applicants. The COMO model calls for these applicants to be assigned to teams of specialists who give them whatever help they need to prepare them for the labor market.

These specialists elicit information about the applicant's education, work experience, job skills, and behavioral problems, if any. Then they assist the applicant in laying out a program of training, education, and supportive services he may need to reach a realistic occupational goal. The final steps are job placement and followthrough. In addition to these responsibilities, the team, which usually consists of three to five people, counsels the applicant, tries to motivate him and give him day-to-day guidance, and handles the clerical work for his case.

Caseloads of the teams are limited so they can give intensive service to the applicants they handle. This team effort resembles that made for participants in the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) and the Work Incentive (WIN) Program.

The remaining applicants—those essentially job-ready but who need some help—are directed into Service II. Here an applicant can meet with a counselor or interviewer to discuss immediate job

COMO in Syracuse

An employability development team discusses a plan of action for making a Service III client job-ready. Team members are (from left) counselor Olga White, interviewer Eleanor Stefanski, clerk Maxine McCarthy, and community worker Robert Baggett.

Two young jobseekers in the Service III area look over "mini-guides" that explain the requirements and duties of various jobs.

Labor Dept. photos by Robert Moeser

placement, or, if no jobs are available, to receive instruction in job-finding techniques. The interviewer may call an employer and ask him to modify the requirements of certain jobs he has open to fit the applicant. He also may find the applicant temporary work. If no suitable job or training is available and the applicant does not wish to try another service area, he may leave an application form behind so he can be matched with a future job opening.

Installation of COMO began in January 1970. The cities participating in the initial experiment were Baltimore, Hartford, Memphis, Milwaukee, Phoenix, Pittsburgh, San Antonio, Syracuse, Tacoma, and Wichita, and one rural area, Wenatchee, Wash. A number of modifications to the basic COMO model have been introduced in each operation to conform to local needs and capabilities.

The implementation of COMO virtually invited such modifications. The original COMO paper was looked upon as a concept stating Manpower Administration goals and suggesting ways to achieve them. In practice, national and regional personnel worked closely on-site with State and local employment service representatives to draw up detailed guidelines —which were often revised in the light of local experience.

In San Antonio, for example, a city with one of the most successful COMO operations, the model was put together by a four-man team consisting of two Manpower Administratio officials and one representative each from State employment service headquarters in Austin and from the San Antonio office. They worked nearly 6 months to fully design the structure before putting it into operation.

One of San Antonio's first decisions was not to conduct an outreach effort—that is not to reach out into the community and actively seek applicants. With 250 new applicants—plus repeat traffic—entering the downtown office every day, generating additional business is considered unnecessary. The office depends on such agencies as the local CEP to bring in the disadvantaged.

CEP, whose mission is to bring a wide array of manpower and other services to the disadvantaged in poor neighborhoods, directs its clients to the employment service for placement and many other manpower services. The employment service and CEP in San Antonio have developed what Harvey Wehman, State employment service district director, terms "a true partnership."

Another variation introduced in San Antonio has been the "exit interview." People using Service I without success are given an interview lasting 5 or 6 minutes by an employment service counselor rather than being permitted simply to walk out without a job. The interviewer tries to determine whether the jobseeker needs some help beyond Service I—perhaps training or vocational rehabilitation—or if he qualifies without realizing it for an opening in the Job Bank book. An out-of-work porter, for example, might be perfectly suited for a job as a truck loader. The local office began this service for veterans last year and its success led to its being extended to Service I users in general.

Of those getting exit interviews, about 80 percent have been referred to jobs and an estimated one-third have been placed. The local office, however, does not have enough staff to interview everyone. Staff members must conduct exit interviews when they are not busy elsewhere. Another COMO city, Pittsburgh, also has found exit interviews beneficial.

Applicants Sell Selves Short

These experiences have allayed fears once harbored by COMO planners that free use of Job Bank books would encourage many people to try for jobs beyond their capacity. Exactly the opposite has proved true. Jobseekers tend to underestimate their capabilities.

To overcome this problem, San Antonio and several other COMO cities now give an in-depth interview to any Service I applicant who comes in three times and receives no referral or who gets five referrals without landing a job. Such applicants may get counseling, job development assistance, or instruction in use of the Job Bank book from Service II staffers.

Orientation and assessment in San Antonio also differ somewhat from the COMO model. Initial orientation is done at the intake point. New applicants are assembled in groups of 15 or 20 and shown a slide and film presentation on the services available. Any further orientation

or assessment normally is handled by regular staffers in the service area to which the applicant goes. In-depth job-related assessments are made and the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) is given to applicants needing it. But San Antonio does not use psychological tests, work samples, or orientation to the world of work, as suggested in the COMO model.

The San Antonio office does not attempt to deal with applicant problems such as the need for child care, housing, health services, severe emotional difficulties, or similar matters. These problems are referred to other agencies better equipped to handle them, and a community relations representative from the San Antonio office spends full time enlisting the aid of these organizations.

San Antonio has put particular emphasis on service to employers. Its centralized employer service unit, established at the outset of COMO, now has a staff of 12. Members of the unit contact employers frequently, check their complaints, explain what the employment service has to offer, emphasize the hiring of veterans and the disadvantaged, and solicit job orders. In addition to employment service personnel, the unit also includes representatives of CEP and the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, which places the disadvantaged in work-training slots with private employers. San Antonio also has an industrial service unit of four trained technicians who help employers restructure jobs and give them other technical assistance.

San Antonio employers are not swamped with job promotion visits and job referrals. All such visits and referrals—whether by employment service staff or by the 10 other agencies with Job Bank daily printouts, including CEP, the Vocational Rehabilitation Service, the community action agency, and WIN—are strictly controlled.

The order-taking verification unit each day calls employers to whom applicants

Giving veterans job placement preference is made a bit easier by these mechanized files. Applications are filed alphabetically and a push of a button brings forward that section of the file needed by employment service staffers. Veterans are filed in front, ahead of nonveterans. Here Mary Jane Lasher (left), a supervisor in the veterans' section, and clerk-receptionist Margaret Wood search out clients' cards to match them to jobs.

Accompanied by a friend to serve as an interpreter, a job hunting cement mason (center, below) who recently arrived in this country from Italy talks with Service II interviewer James Williams.

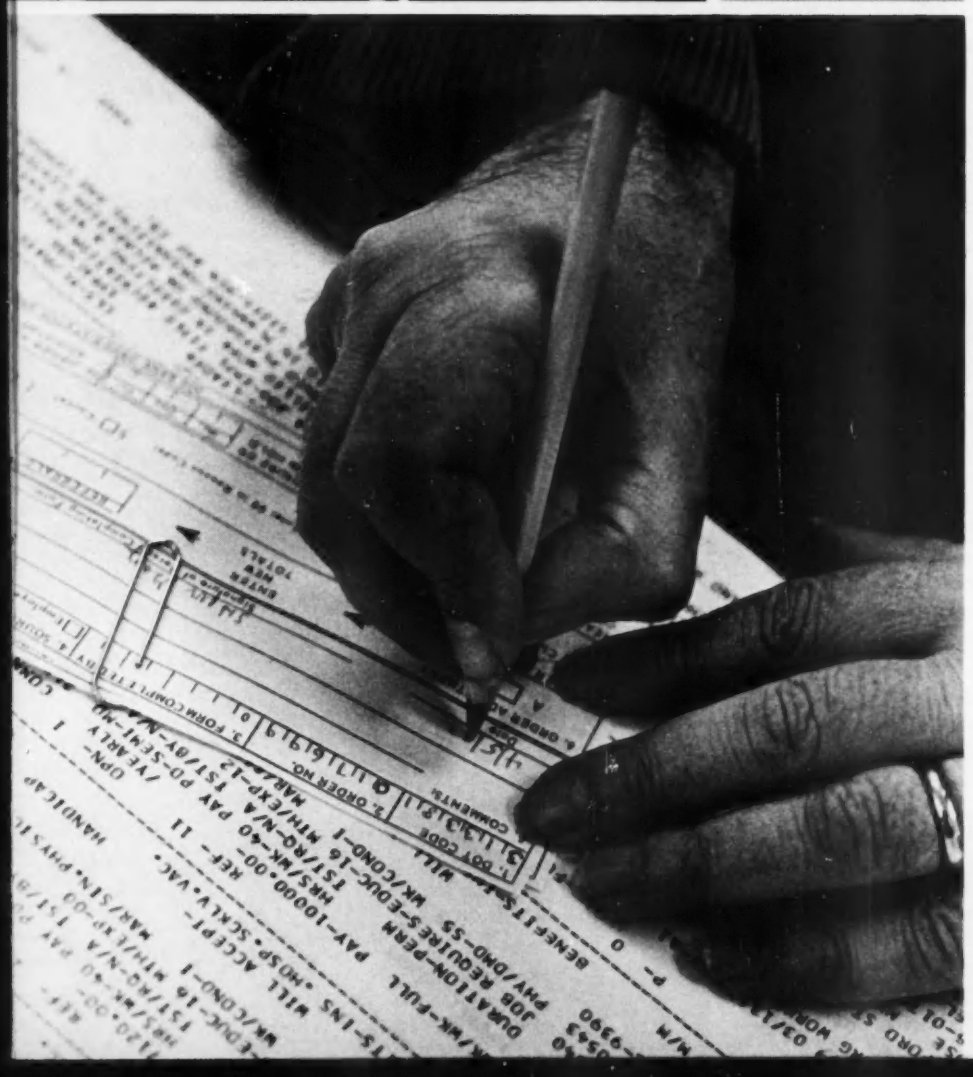
As job orders are canceled during the day because the jobs have been filled or enough applicants have been referred, they are listed on the board (bottom left) to prevent useless referrals. Interviewer Nancy Sharpe does the posting.

Testing (bottom right) remains an important service to clients under COMO. Senior clerk Helen Bednarski (standing at rear) administers part of the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) to applicants.

Receptionist Ruth King registers Service I applicants and distributes Job Bank books to them. Also on hand to help clients are interviewer David Elgsby (right) and community worker Karey Rivers (background), who shows the applicants how to use the Job Bank books to find openings.

Job-ready applicants use these small cubicles in the Service I area to scan the Job Bank printouts for openings. Interviewer Charles Thompson (standing) is on duty to help anyone who needs it.

An interviewer prepares a referral slip for an applicant who has found an opening he likes on the Job Bank listing.



have been referred to see if the jobs have been filled. Information on jobs no longer open—but not yet removed from the Job Bank listing—is passed along to placement interviewers and to people using the Job Information Service. These daily calls not only cut down on useless referrals but help offset the impersonal order taking inherent in COMO.

Employers also are encouraged to come into the office and do their recruiting on the spot. Free desk space and phone service are made available to them. These services also are available to job-ready applicants who may want to call an employer to set up an appointment.

San Antonio, like all COMO cities, has an "aged order alert" system. If no referral is made on a job order in 3 days, an employer services representative calls the employer and asks if the local office should continue trying to fill it. If so, the job is kept on the Job Bank printout for another 3 days, during which Service II referral interviewers search their files to try to find a suitable applicant. This procedure keeps the applicants' files alive and results in quicker service for both employer and jobseeker.

"This reemphasis on employer services is critical to the success of the Job Information Service and of the entire COMO operation," said Richard Mendenhall, chief of the Division of Employment Service Delivery Systems and Organization for the Manpower Administration. "You've got to get to the employer, tell him you're no longer creaming, no longer just doing preliminary screening for him. You are not referring just the best applicants or the most qualified—and tell him why. Properly explained to the employer, he will buy. You can't just spring it on him. He needs training, too."

Thanks to the new employer contact coordination units, Mendenhall adds, "for the first time we're managing to control unauthorized visits to employers. The employment service, the WIN, CEP, and

community action people were all pestering employers for jobs. Now we have contact coordination, which saves a lot of job development effort, refines the job search, and helps employers."

Staff training for COMO has been intense in San Antonio. Every employee was instructed in the COMO concept before the model was implemented, and received on-the-job training afterwards. Today cross-training takes place constantly. This means that specialists learn other specialities. Interviewers, for example, work and train for 7 weeks at a time as job order takers or verifiers.

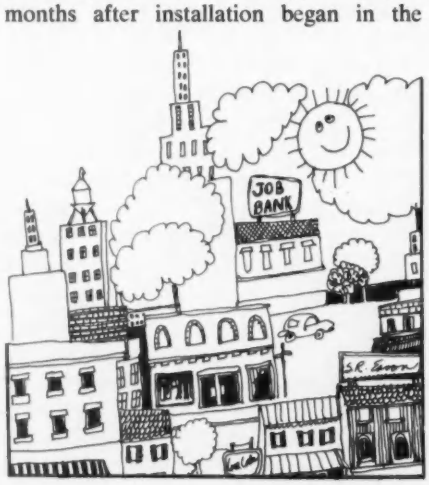
The results have been worth the effort, according to San Antonio district director Wehman. "Our placements have been increasing every month," he said. "We really began to move in early 1971, and every month so far in 1972 our placements have been 30 percent above the corresponding month in the previous year."

Services to Poor Increased

The best feature about COMO, he feels, is that it opens up the system. The employment service no longer keeps all its job openings to itself; it shares them with other agencies and lays them right out on the table for all applicants.

"The applicants feel they're seeing all our job orders," he said. "Before, we did all the selecting but now they can match themselves with jobs and it makes them feel a lot friendlier to the system. Employers are enthusiastic, too. They say they get more applicants for each job and they get them quicker."

His assessment is borne out by results of the Abt Associates study, made just months after installation began in the COMO cities in January 1970. The six cities which were most advanced with their COMO operation were the subject of the Abt study. Abt reviewed and assessed actual field operations for 6 months beginning September 1970.



Although performance "remains far below what might be hoped for in an organization which strives to become a comprehensive manpower agency," the report said, "the COMO experiment has conclusively demonstrated the capability of employment service local offices to reform themselves and to improve their achievement of employment service goals."

The report described COMO as an "unqualified success" in achieving one of its fundamental goals—increasing services to the disadvantaged. The six cities had an average rise of 124 percent in the number of disadvantaged applicants served over a comparable period before the study—though some of this may have been attributable to the increase in unemployment which occurred during 1970. Nevertheless, "before-after comparison shows that although the total number of applicants rose sharply in all COMO cities, the increase in the number of disadvantaged was comparatively greater than for other applicants following the implementation of COMO."

And despite declining overall job placements in the COMO cities due to a tighter job market, the number of minorities placed in jobs increased in most of the cities. As further evidence of improved service to the disadvantaged, Service III, which is for the least job-ready, handled less than 6 percent of the applicants but accounted for 19 percent of the placements. Some 53 percent of Service III clients who were referred to jobs got them, compared with a 14 percent placement-to-referral ratio for Service I applicants.

The disadvantaged held on to their jobs more successfully, too. A survey of those who had been placed at least 30 days earlier showed that Service III applicants had the highest average retention rate, 29 percent, compared with 19 percent for Service I and 14 percent for Service II.

Another significant finding, according to the Abt report, was that a very large number of employment service clients do not need the traditional lengthy interview given all applicants. Some 40 percent of all COMO placements were made without this interview. This bears out the COMO concept that much staff time was being wasted performing tasks for the job-ready which they could do for themselves—time that could profitably be devoted to extra services for less competitive applicants.

The Manpower Administration has identified what it feels are the most successful ingredients in the experiment so far: The Job Information Service (Service I), redirected employer services, labor market information library, and wide dissemination of Job Bank listings. These have been combined into a Job Information Delivery System (JDS) which is being, or soon will be, used in all 111 Job Bank cities.

Further Experimentation Needed

Implementation of the rest of COMO is proceeding slowly. Further experimentation is deemed necessary. There are, for instance, serious problems with Service II. This area is getting the spillover from the other two service levels, particularly from Service III where demand is heavy and team caseloads must be limited. Clients in Service II, therefore, vary so widely—from the nearly job-ready to the disadvantaged—that they cannot be quickly matched to jobs as envisioned in the COMO model. The Abt study suggests dismantling Service II but the Manpower Administration is not convinced. "We don't have all the answers yet," said Mendenhall, "but we are continuing to experiment and are determined to come up with a rational solution."

The Manpower Administration is awaiting the outcome of a major new study now being carried out by Abt Associates. This study, focusing mainly on applicant followup in the COMO cities, should be complete late this summer and may yield the necessary information to devise a final, effective COMO model.

Meanwhile, some States are moving ahead on their own. Kansas, for example, went statewide with COMO in early 1971 in all its major offices and even its smaller offices are attempting to give applicants three levels of service, though they lack the manpower to establish employability teams. The State of Washington also has three levels of services in all its local offices and several other States are moving in this direction. □

XC

HIS KIND OF WORK

Drywall 'Apprentice of the Year' Has No Regrets About Spurning Desk Job

by Rhonda Susman

At 22, Frederick Banks knows from experience that there are two things he doesn't like: A desk job and jail. He is determined not to return to either. And as the recently named "Apprentice of the Year" of the Gypsum Drywall Contractors International, his prospects look good.

Two years ago the outlook for Banks was anything but bright. He had just returned to Omaha after being paroled from a California correctional institution. Banks had left his parents' home in Omaha in 1966 to live with an older brother in Culver City, Calif. He became a track star there at Hamilton High and set a school record for the mile run. But when he graduated in 1968, he had no job, no occupational skills, and no income. He turned to burglary, was arrested and convicted, and served 15 months in jail.

Upon his return to Omaha his father suggested that he try the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), a Manpower Administration program to help the disadvantaged prepare for and find jobs. CEP placed him in July as an accountant trainee at City Hall.

"It was a good enough job," Banks said. "They were even sending me to college on the side. But I didn't like that desk. It just wasn't my type of work. I couldn't sit there all day long. And the pay was $128 every 2 weeks. I make that much in a week as a drywall apprentice."

He stuck it out for 8 months and then threw in the towel. Out of a job for several months, he appealed to his parole officer, Rev. Velton Randall. The clergyman dispatched Banks to the State employment service office, where he was enrolled in a special pre-apprenticeship training project under the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, funded by the Manpower Administration to place and train the disadvantaged in private industry.

The JOBS project, sponsored by the Gypsum Drywall Contractors of Nebraska, sent Banks and his fellow trainees to Omaha Technical College for 6 weeks of classroom and on-the-job instruction. "They taught us the tools and about gypsum drywall and how it was made," Banks said. He liked that part of the training but was less enthusiastic about the math, spelling and history that also were included.

"We were the first class, and sort of guinea pigs," says Banks. "It was okay, but the new classes are getting a lot better training than we did. They've really improved it."

His pre-apprenticeship completed, Banks became a drywall apprentice in the painters union and went to work for the Robinson Drywall Company of Omaha at a beginning wage of $3.97 an hour. He liked the work and learned quickly from the journeymen.

A few months later, on the basis of his attendance, attitude, improvement, and skills acquired in training, Banks was nominated for the Nebraska Gypsum Drywall Contractors "Apprentice of the Year" award. He won and was automatically placed in the running for the national award. Again he won and was flown to Las Vegas in March to receive the award at the annual convention of the Gypsum Drywall Contractors International, sponsors of the competition. Not only were his expenses paid, but his employer paid his wages while he was in Las Vegas.

Banks is scheduled to complete his apprenticeship and become a journeyman in July 1973. Current journeyman pay in Omaha is $7.45 an hour.

His employer, William Robinson, says that what makes Banks stand out are his attendance record (often a problem in the construction industry) and his willingness to learn.

"He seems to be trying to prove that men like himself, if they have the right opportunity, can do good in our society," Robinson said. □

Mrs. Susman is an information officer for the Nebraska Department of Labor's Division of Employment.

WAYNE W VAUGHAN
MEMORIAL AWARD
FREDERICK BANKS
IN RECOGNITION OF OUTSTANDING ATTITUDE AND PERFORMANCE ON THE JOB WHILE SERVING APPRENTICESHIP IN THE DRYWALL INDUSTRY
GYPSUM DRYWALL CONTRACTORS INTERNATIONAL
MARCH 1972

Five-Time Loser Finally Wins

by Allan W. Earle

Former Convict Builds a New Record By Helping Others With Problems

The police chief, from a small town in the State of Washington, rose to address a meeting of Northwest law enforcement experts. "Society is wasting its time on rehabilitation programs for two-time losers," he charged. "These ex-cons lost their opportunity to prove themselves after their first release from the pen. Unless they can show that they have developed job skills and changed attitudes, they aren't worth spending time on."

The next speaker on the agenda challenged this view. "My name is LeRoy Farnham, and I am a five-time loser," he said. "Even so, I consider myself rehabilitated. I now work for a CAA—a community action agency. I'll say one thing for the police chief's viewpoint, though—with opinions like that, we'll never get the rehabilitation programs we need."

The police chief got up and walked out. Farnham stayed until the early hours of the morning answering questions and at the end of the session he was deluged with requests to speak at other meetings.

When Farnham talks about offender rehabilitation, he draws upon the experiences of a man who has spent some 15 years behind bars. His description of himself as a "five-time loser" refers to his five felony convictions on such charges as interstate transportation of forged securities, taking a stolen car across State lines, and obtaining money and property under false pretenses. He is thoroughly familiar with the insides of Federal and State penitentiaries, Marine brigs, Army stockades, and city and county jails.

Mr. Earle is a freelance writer.

Farnham is an interested audience of one as a youngster demonstrates her skill with an educational toy at the CAA's Head Start center. The preschool training poor youngsters get through Head Start is designed to help them begin their formal school careers on a more equal footing with their classmates.

Since 1968, Farnham has worked for community action agencies, funded by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, in Washington. Currently, he is executive director of the Whatcom County Opportunity Council, the CAA in Bellingham. Both in his present job and in an earlier post with the CAA in Everett, this ex-convict has built a new kind of record—this time in programs to help such people as school dropouts, the aged, and the poor.

Farnham's history behind bars began at the age of 10 when he spent a week in the county jail for stealing ice cream. This was an effort to teach him a lesson. The police were certain that he was burglarizing railroad boxcars and automobiles but were unable to catch him in the act. However, the week in jail did not deter him. As he grew up, he continued to pilfer cars and he vandalized a number of properties and held up a local laundry. "Whenever I got caught for these later crimes Dad paid off people for the damages or the losses," Farnham says. "He didn't have much money. He did it so I wouldn't have to go to reform school."

At 17, Farnham enlisted in the Marines. He had dropped out of high school the year before and by this time had become a heavy drinker, which he blames for some of his later troubles. He lasted only a little more than a year in the Marines, about a third of it in the brig for going absent without leave (AWOL) in a futile effort to patch up his parents' disintegrating marriage. The Marines gave him a medical discharge for being "not mentally adapted" to life in the Corps.

But he was not a civilian long—the Army drafted him a month later, and he served 3 years in the South Pacific, Japan, Europe, and the Caribbean, including a month in an Army stockade for arguing with his platoon sergeant. Out of the Army in 1947, Farnham got a bartending job, not a wise choice for a hard-drinking man. Fired "for giving away too much beer," he stole his former boss' car and went to Texas, where he was later caught and got a year in a Federal prison.

By the end of that year, Farnham was still a man without a legitimate civilian occupation, a fact that helped him make up his mind to reenlist in the Army. However, he soon "got fed up because the Army was advancing inexperienced kids ahead of me." He twice went AWOL. The second time he was gone for an extended period and decided to turn himself in only after war broke out and he learned that his old outfit was being sent to Korea. He was court martialed, sentenced to prison for desertion, and served 19 months in a Federal penitentiary where he became the

Farnham kibitzes a card game at the Senior Activity Center operated by the community action agency he heads.

Bikes are a favorite form of transportation for Farnham.

chief baker. It was one of the few job skills he ever acquired behind bars.

After his release Farnham worked as a logger until he contracted tuberculosis, was hospitalized as a welfare patient for nearly a year, landed in a county jail for 90 days for fighting, and spent 5 months in another county jail for obtaining property under false pretenses. Finally, a drinking bout precipitated a bad-check writing spree that began with the "purchase" of a new car and continued across 17 States. During this period Farnham also transported forged securities across State lines. The result was imprisonment for 10 years in a series of State and Federal penitentiaries.

During those years Farnham got his high school equivalency certificate and studied accounting through University of Oregon extension courses. While at the Oregon State Penitentiary he got accounting experience by keeping books for a $10 million prison industry and later, at Leavenworth, he worked as a payroll clerk in the personnel unit. While in prison he also joined Alcoholics Anonymous and has been a dedicated AA member ever since.

"I started thinking about what I wanted to get out of life," Farnham says. "I had a lot of time to do it in." But being in prison did not make it easy for him to quit drinking. Bootleg liquor is "easier and cheaper to get in the pen than it is on the street," according to Farnham. In two prisons where he did time, inmates were operating their own stills.

In 1966, with his discharge from prison, Farnham set out to make an honest living. He did not have much to go on—after sending out more than a hundred letters to employers, he had received only one response, an offer of a truckdriving job. Eventually he found work as an auditor, but could not keep jobs in this field when employers learned about his record. Finally, at the urging of a friend, he applied for a job to Harry L. Carle, executive director of the CAA in Everett.

"He came to my office in good AA fashion," Carle recalls. "He said, 'I am LeRoy Farnham, and I am an ex-con and an arrested alcoholic.' I asked him what he did in prison rather than why he was there. As a former parole officer, I've learned that this is what really tells the story about a man. And what is most important about an alcoholic is the person's acceptance of himself, and his ability to go on from there."

Everett Miller, local YMCA director and a member of the Everett CAA board of directors, remembers that it took all of Carle's persuasiveness to overcome the board's "many reservations" about hiring Farnham. Farnham was given a 30-day evaluation on the job before he became a regular employee and later was sent to the Northwest Center for Community Action Training in Portland, Oreg., for training in program and social service administration.

"Our trust and confidence in him increased rapidly," Miller says. "He accomplished his tasks skillfully, and soon he was signing payroll checks and managing funds."

One of Farnham's achievements at Everett was putting together the necessary ingredients for a Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) program for the five-county area covered by the CAA. "I studied the Manpower Administration guidelines, then went through the area soliciting job slots for youth who would be coming into the program," Farnham says. "I developed 77 slots, each at a different site. We were funded for 20 slots and used the larger number to offer the youngsters a wide variety of jobs to choose from."

Farnham also helped develop a CAA contract with the Manpower Administration to administer an Operation Mainstream program for older workers, lined up a hundred employers in a pre-apprenticeship program to give part-time work to dropouts who were returning to school, and initiated efforts to set up a student loan fund for such needs as community

As a member of the board of directors, Farnham often drops in on the Bellingham Street Academy to visit with students and observe their progress. The academy is a free high school for dropouts from the regular educational system.

college tuition, clothing, and books. In addition, he helped develop proposals for two grants from Federal agencies for alcoholism control.

Today there are many success stories in Everett that began in programs Farnham helped set up. One is that of a 16-year-old unwed mother who came into the NYC program. Earlier she had exhausted the job market with her applications and still had not been able to find work. With NYC employment she was able to support herself and her baby; she also got her high school equivalency certificate and went to business school part time. Now married (Farnham gave her away at the wedding), she works as an office manager and is studying for a psychology degree at a nearby college.

Jim Norris is another NYC success. "When I first walked into the CAA, I was 17 and had dropped out of school to get married. My first NYC job was at the courthouse, but I was canned within 3 weeks. It took me almost 3 months to get up enough nerve to go back to the NYC and ask for a second chance. I didn't think I really deserved one, but Farnham thought otherwise. Two days later I was working for the county planning department." Norris now has been there 3 years and is a qualified draftsman earning $610 a month.

When Norris was in NYC he went to weekly "rap" sessions Farnham held with the youngsters. Talk centered around anything that was on their minds, whether it was drugs, home problems, or job problems. Norris says that Farnham stressed the "work routine" and how to maintain one's individuality while still fitting into "the system."

"Some of us already had records and were heading for the State penitentiary unless we changed our behavior," Norris says. One youth did get into trouble, but Farnham headed off punitive action in favor of efforts to help him. Lee A. McIntosh, a vocational rehabilitation officer, says that Farnham's counseling of the youth and his testimony in court were key factors which influenced the judge's decision to place the young man on parole rather than behind bars so that the CAA could work out an employment and rehabilitation plan for him.

Since taking over as CAA director in Bellingham about a year ago, Farnham again is finding that his own past experiences help him to deal sensitively with the kinds of problems that routinely make their way through a CAA's front door. In addition to running a broad band of poverty programs, he has joined the board of directors of the Bellingham Street Academy, a free school that enables high school dropouts to get an education they feel is relevant to their needs.

The agency Farnham directs was operating with a deficit before he arrived. He drew upon his bookkeeping skills and his newly discovered administrative abilities to straighten out the budget, get the agency functioning in the black, and build up staff morale. He also helped start new CAA activities such as a volunteer center, a free clinic, and youth, alternate education, and drug programs.

Another of Farnham's current activities is membership on the Puget Sound Law and Justice Council appointed by the Governor. The council is working on plans to set up community institutions which would accept offenders on commitments from the courts and would draw together all community resources in offender rehabilitation. Farnham also serves on a local law and justice committee funded by the Law Enforcement and Assistance Administration.

Farnham gives much of the credit for his rehabilitation to AA for helping him rein in his alcoholism and to the CAA for giving him a chance to work at a meaningful job. Today Farnham's interests are revealed by the words he chose for a new CAA brochure:

"Helping people help other people help other people . . ." □

Words & Figures

Technology Reemployment Program

In the spring of 1971 unemployment of engineers, scientists, and technicians, largely as a result of cutbacks in the aerospace and defense industries, was estimated at 75,000 to 100,000. Concerned with the consequences of the loss of effective use of these critical manpower skills, the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration launched the Technology Mobilization and Reemployment Program (TMRP). Jobless engineers, scientists, and technicians were eligible for grants for travel to job interviews, for moving expenses to a new job location, and for additional training and education.

In the first year of the program's operation, 36,800 engineers, scientists, and technicians laid off from firms in the aerospace and defense industries registered for assistance. More than a third of the registrants, 12,600, acquired new positions either by being directly placed by State employment service offices, which operated the program, or by finding their own jobs with assistance from the program.

California had the largest number of registrants, 13,400, 36 percent of the national total. Some 42 percent of California registrants obtained new jobs, compared with a national rate of 34 percent. Within the State, 54 percent of the 1,800 engineers and scientists registered in San Diego got jobs. The Los Angeles area had the most registrants, 6,200, 44 percent of whom obtained employment.

Other areas with high placement rates were Dallas-Fort Worth, where 1,300 of the 3,000 jobless TMRP registrants obtained jobs; and Philadelphia, where 600 of 1,600 unemployed scientists and engineers found work. The Seattle area, which experienced the highest rate of displacement of professional aerospace and defense personnel, recorded successful new employment for 700 of its 2,700 registrants.

Of services other than placement, 2,800 of the 36,800 registrants obtained job search grants; 2,200 sought new skills through further education and training; and 850 made use of grants for relocating to jobs in different areas.

Technology Mobilization and Reemployment Program in Selected Areas, April 1971 - April 1972

Registrants	Area	Obtained Employment
36,770	U.S. Total	12,636
799	Huntsville (Ala.)	389
6,257	Los Angeles	2,747
2,158	Orange County (Calif.)	911
1,817	San Diego	936
2,470	San Jose	824
1,527	Cape Kennedy	403
746	Atlanta	236
639	Wichita	263
2,580	Boston	717
606	St. Louis	324
1,928	Long Island	639
1,552	Philadelphia	623
2,982	Dallas-Fort Worth	1,329
2,726	Seattle	735

XEROX

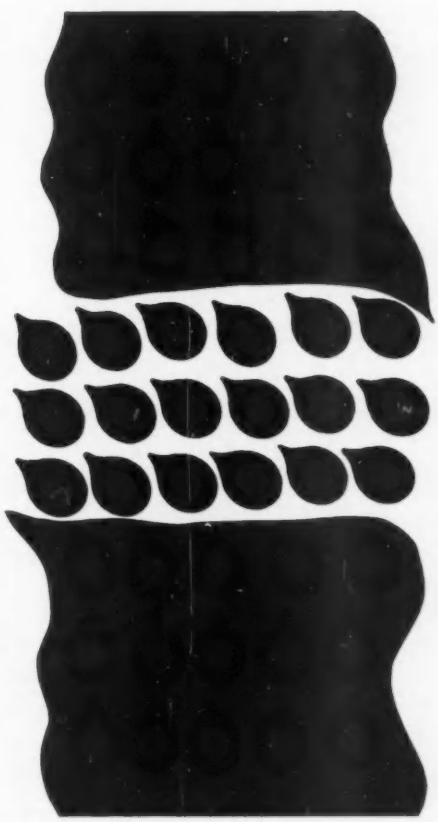
CROSSTIDES IN MAINSTREAM

Evaluators Find Solid Benefits For Participants Despite Some Uncertainty Over Program Goals

For more than 3 years, Gladys Spiess, 65, an enrollee in a Federal manpower program, has been working as a community aide in New York City. Her job is to help elderly people with their housing, medical, and Social Security problems. A widow, she is paid $38 plus certain fringe benefits for a 20-hour week. This is her only income besides a small monthly Social Security check. No effort is being made to place her in an unsubsidized job because of her age, so she will probably continue in her present work indefinitely.

William T. Jones, Jr., 22, completed several months of work experience and training in a Federal manpower program at Rutland, Ohio, early in 1971. During that period he worked on local parks and streams. His pay was $1.60 an hour. The program helped him get his high school equivalency certificate and put him through a special surveyor-assistant engineer training course. When his training was finished, he was placed with a contractor in West Virginia as an assistant surveyor for $2.50 an hour and later he moved to a job with a barge line in Ohio where he earns about $200 a week.

Both Mrs. Spiess and Jones are products of the Manpower Administration's Operation Mainstream. And their 43-year difference in age illustrates the most serious problem in an otherwise generally successful program, according to a recently completed evaluation of Mainstream by Kirschner Associates, Inc., of Albuquerque, N. Mex. Mainstream projects recruit poor, chronically unemployed adults and assign them to work in public and nonprofit agencies. Their salaries and related employment costs are paid by Mainstream as long as they continue in the program.



The 7-year-old program is trying to serve both elderly and younger poor people, whose needs often are widely disparate. Younger workers want to overcome educational deficiencies and to receive training and job placement for future careers, the evaluation points out. Older people, on the other hand, generally are satisfied with any useful work that will supplement their meager incomes.

Mainstream works well when it focuses exclusively, as it was originally intended, on helping elderly workers while improving community services, according to the evaluation. But when the objectives of training and placement are added, troubles often result.

Placing emphasis on training and placement, the evaluation report says, "has complicated the design of the program, created operating difficulties, and hampered seriously" achievement of the primary goal of Mainstream, which was to provide income to older people by putting them to work in public and nonprofit agencies in jobs that benefit the community. Projects that place high priority on training and placement tend to enroll people who are the most rather than the least employable (often this means younger people). And in seeking to place participants such projects are inclined to select agencies on the basis of their ability to hire enrollees in permanent jobs rather than on the services the agencies provide to the community.

Despite this caveat, the evaluation finds that Mainstream is providing useful, satisfying jobs for enrollees. Furthermore, it has been successful in improving the economic condition of the poor and bolstering community services.

Field research for the report was done from August 1970 through June 1971. Some 53 individual Mainstream projects, representing 13 percent of all in operation at the time, were studied. Among these were 35 projects administered through Manpower Administration regional offices, and 18 projects administered by the Manpower Administration National Office. The latter included the National Farmers Union Green Thumb projects, restricted to people 55 and over in rural areas, and the Senior Aide projects, operated by various organizations representing the elderly and employing people like Mrs. Spiess. Almost 3,300 formal interviews were conducted among

Sidney Little (left) and Martin Majors of the Middleport, Ohio, Police Department use a drug identification kit to learn to identify narcotics. Little, 28, took 5 months of on-the-job training as a Mainstream participant and then was hired as a full-time patrolman. Majors, 24, still is paid by Mainstream while taking his training. The Mainstream project is operated by the Leading Creek Conservancy District and stresses job preparation and placement.

active and former Mainstream participants, project staffers, work supervisors, employers, and community leaders.

The evaluation found that, although it includes many younger workers, Mainstream "clearly is the only program concentrating on enrollment of persons 65 years and older." Some 58 percent of the enrollees were 45 or older, and 23 percent were over 65. By contrast, enrollment of people over 45 in other adult manpower programs ranged from a low of 4 percent in the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program to a high of 11 percent in the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP). "Thus, Mainstream has helped fill an obvious gap in the coverage of manpower programs by enrolling older workers," the report notes.

Interviews were conducted with 850 active and 499 former enrollees. A composite enrollee was found to be a white married male, about 50, with less than 9 years of education, heading a household of three to four persons. But there was considerable variation from this composite among projects. The mean age for those in regionally administered projects was slightly above 40. In the nationally contracted projects, almost all enrollees were 55 or older. The mean age of Green Thumb participants was 68 and their mean educational level just over 7 years.

Most of the active participants interviewed liked Mainstream. Three out of four described themselves as very satisfied with their jobs and only 3 percent expressed any level of dissatisfaction. Some 94 percent said they would recommend enrollment to other persons like themselves. Former participants were less enthusiastic. About 10 percent said they were dissatisfied with the program.

"The effects of the program on the enrollees are often dramatic and immediate," the evaluation declares. Nearly all participants reported that they had improved themselves financially and the majority reported improved health and outlook and the learning of new skills. Many participants had outside income but few of them would be above poverty levels without Mainstream wages which, according to the report, "constitute a major share of their family income, in most cases at least doubling their income levels."

Activity, Better Health Linked

The salubrious effect on the health of participants was attributed to several causes. First was the physical and mental activity, particularly beneficial to older workers. A second factor was the physical examination which more than half the enrollees reported receiving through Mainstream within the previous 12 months.

"Others mentioned being able to afford better food, shelter, or medical care or not having to worry about where to get their next meal," says the evaluation. The report speculates that a final factor was the nature of the individual project. Enrollees in projects with time limits reported less beneficial consequences to health—possibly a reflection of their anxiety over being dropped from the program on a fixed termination date with dim prospects of finding new jobs.

Both young and old were among those whose outlook on life improved. Some of the old-timers reported "that they had just about given up all hope for the future before they were enrolled." Without Mainstream, said one older worker, "I'd just be sitting in a rocking chair on the porch waiting to die."

Younger participants, on the other hand, "often considered Mainstream the first real opportunity for advancement." One young enrollee, a former laborer, said: "I saw I . . . could better myself with this training." And another remarked, "It gave me a sense of responsibility. Now I see that work is part of living." The report attributes part of the improvement in attitudes to Mainstream staff members who "designed classes to attempt to change enrollees' outlooks on life and to raise their expectations of what they might receive from the program."

While few Mainstreamers received formal vocational instruction, as did William Jones, many of them reported acquiring new skills on the job. For some, unfortunately, these skills were in such jobs as custodian, outdoor clean-up worker, gardener, and janitor. "There's not much to learn about janitorial work," said

Lillian Beane (right) supplements her modest income by working as a Senior Aide under a Mainstream project sponsored by the National Council on the Aging. Assigned to the Northern Kennebec Valley Community Action Council in Maine, she delivers food and gives advice on its preparation and storage to recipients of donated commodities. Here, accompanied by Dolley Crommet (left), supervisor of nutritional aides for the Community Action Council, she advises Mrs. Catherine Sealey how to make the best use of the foodstuffs she receives to help feed her 10 children.

Making shingles for a covered bridge in Grayson County, Ky., and repairing a stone fence in Virginia's Mt. Rogers State Park, are typical Green Thumb projects. A part of Operation Mainstream, Green Thumb is sponsored by the National Farmers Union and most of its efforts involve conservation and beautification of public lands. Green Thumb participants work 3 days a week and can earn up to $1,600 a year. Their average age is 69 and their average income outside Mainstream is $900 a year.

one enrollee. But even those who picked up construction, clerical, or other skills often could not find unsubsidized work in the tight job market of 1970-71. "In a time of more full employment, when the demand for labor is high, the marginal skill improvement gained in Mainstream might be successful in placing many of these chronically unemployed poor persons in jobs," the report says.

As for the future, most participants want to stay with Mainstream. And although nearly all of them said they wanted to continue working even if they left the program, most did not rate their chances of finding new jobs as even "fairly good." As expected, this feeling was most pronounced among older enrollees.

Of those who had left the program, the evaluators found that only one-third from the regionally administered projects did so to take an outside job, and the ratio was much lower for the nationally administered projects, whose participants were older. Most of those working at the time of interview said they found jobs on their own or through organizations other than Mainstream.

Study Cites Good Image

People formerly enrolled in Mainstream projects administered through the Concentrated Employment Program fared best in the job market. CEP's mission is to make available in one place a variety of training programs and supportive services to help the hard-core disadvantaged prepare for and find jobs. Some 71 percent of former CEP Mainstream enrollees were employed, although slightly less than half were placed through project efforts. But the report notes that CEP Mainstreamers were more employable, younger, and better educated than the average participant and that high placement usually means the primary goal of Mainstream—serving older workers and low income communities—is not being met.

Mainstream's community impact and image generally has been good, the report says. "Among the influential persons interviewed in the sample communities, it is apparent that the image of Operation Mainstream is generally accurate and favorable," the evaluation maintains. "The local Mainstream projects and program goals were known by most of the community leaders and employers interviewed, even among those who had no close association with the program." This has been achieved through highly visible work projects, such as park beautification; through contacting community leaders for jobs or for other aid; and through publicity.

The evaluation points out, however, that this favorable image has been gained, at least partially, at the expense of improving services to the poor. Many projects tend to stress beautification and conservation efforts that generate publicity and public support, instead of concentrating on bringing better service to the poor, the report contends.

Nevertheless, the report points to a number of Mainstream projects that have had considerable success in providing services for the poor, particularly the elderly. Notable among these have been the Senior Aides projects, such as the one that employs Mrs. Spiess. Sponsored by such organizations as the National Council on the Aging and the National Council of Senior Citizens, these projects recruit older people. And the participants are assigned to jobs that involve efforts to help the elderly—to get them reduced bus fares and better protection in housing projects and to make sure Social Security and public welfare agencies serve them properly.

The projects enrolling older people have had a favorable impact on employer attitudes, though not necessarily on hiring practices, according to the evaluation. "Relatively few community leaders and employers cited low productivity or increased costs as a disadvantage of hiring older workers," the report says. "In fact, when asked about the advantages of hiring older workers, most community leaders and employers cited high quality of work, dependability, and willingness to assume 'odd' or meticulous tasks as favorable factors."

Little of this favorable influence, however, has carried over to changing employment practices, the evaluation notes. It attributes part of this to the fact that during the study period "economic conditions were not healthy" and most disadvantaged workers were having trouble finding or keeping jobs. There are more enduring factors as well.

Long-standing company policies, including mandatory retirement ages, agency regulations, and union agreements militate against hiring the old. "The experience of the Operation Mainstream program indicates that the 'older worker problem' is of enormous magnitude," the evaluation says. "Nothing short of a complete overhaul of the hiring-employment-retirement system as well as a high demand for labor in all areas of the country can be expected to solve fully the 'older worker problem.' " The intervention of a "small limited program" such as Mainstream cannot be expected to make much impact.

Other Findings Listed

Other findings of the evaluation were:

- Many older persons are able and willing to work on a part-time basis and are rather easily satisfied in terms of types of job assignments.
- The job performance of older workers is generally comparable or superior to other workers performing similar tasks.
- Older workers could provide many community services now lacking, particularly for the elderly.
- Mainstream can expand or improve community services substantially with careful selection of work assignments and projects.
- When both elderly and younger workers are enrolled in the same project, it is difficult to meet the needs of either group. Apparently this can be done only if, as in one project, the groups are separated into two components—one emphasizing training and job development for younger workers and the second featuring indefinite enrollment and continuing work activity for older participants.
- As a public service employment program, Mainstream is too small to have a significant impact on reducing unemployment.
- Program costs—about $4,630 in Federal money for each man-year in the sample projects—appear reasonable. About 83 percent of this goes to enrollees in the form of pay, fringe benefits, and services such as health care and transportation.

"Despite its shortcomings, the Mainstream concept and program has proved valid, and most local projects have met the basic needs of enrollees," the report concludes. "With clarification of objectives, proper program design, and improvement in administration, the program could be made even more effective." □

Publications

Following is a selected list of publications on manpower and related matters. Single copies of publications for which no price is indicated can be obtained free by writing or telephoning the appropriate organization at the following addresses: Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210; Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20212. Please enclose a self-addressed label with all requests for free publications. For publications not available free, write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, or the organization specified in the listing, and enclose payment.

Manpower Report of the President, 1972

Annual report to the Congress, prepared by the Department of Labor, is a vital reference for economists, researchers, educators, and all others interested in manpower policies and programs. In addition to a review of the employment and unemployment record in 1971 and of recent developments in manpower programs and legislation, the report discusses manpower implications of Government actions in many different fields, critical unemployment problems of teenagers, and the changed manpower situation in the professions. It also contains an extensive statistical appendix. $2.25.

Handbook for Analyzing Jobs

Manpower Administration 345-page instructional and reference textbook with a new approach to obtaining current and comprehensive data on jobs and worker requirements. Some of its major areas of use are manpower matching, job restructuring, job development, curriculum planning, and other career development programs and activities. $2.50.

Veterans! Try the Employment Service

Manpower Administration flyer explains how the employment service can help veterans find work after returning from the service.

The Public Employment Program

Manpower Administration leaflet explains the Public Employment Program for bringing together jobless workers and the public work to be done.

Manpower Programs for Offenders

Leaflet explains Manpower Administration's new approach to solving manpower problems of offenders, including inmate training programs, pretrial intervention program, and Federal bonding program.

Help for Employers From the Public Employment Service

Manpower Administration flyer discusses eight ways in which the U.S. Employment Service and the affiliated State employment service agencies can help employers in their search for employees.

Up To Now, A Chronicle of Manpower Programs

A 12-page Manpower Administration leaflet traces efforts of the Government to solve problems of employment, unemployment, and manpower utilization from 1884 to 1971.

U.S. Industrial Outlook, 1972

U.S. Department of Commerce 500-page book of narratives, charts, and tables shows activity in over 225 industries—manufacturing and nonmanufacturing. Each analysis has estimates for 1972 and also projections for 1975 and 1980. Every summary is supported by statistics for the past 5 years on shipments, profits, number of firms, exports, imports, prices, products and geographic location of plants. $3.75.

A Directory of BLS Studies in Employee Compensation, 1947-71

Bureau of Labor Statistics studies listed in this pamphlet are arranged under five main subject headings: Employee Compensation and Payroll Hours; Annual Earnings and Employment Patterns; Earnings and Hour's Frequency Distributions Nonoccupational Studies; Employee Benefit Plans; and Special Studies.

Employment and Earnings—States and Areas 1939-70

Ninth comprehensive historical reference volume (646 pages) of State and area employment and earnings statistics released by Bureau of Labor Statistics. Presents detailed industry data on 216 major labor areas from representative sample of industrial, commercial, and government establishments, employing collectively about 30 million workers. Specify Bulletin 1370-8. $4.50.

Black Americans—A Decade of Occupational Change

Bureau of Labor Statistics chart book shows occupational changes among black workers during 10-year period. For analysis, charts separate black labor force into three occupational groups according to pay scales. Specify Bulletin 1731. 40 cents.

BLS Publications on Productivity and Technology

Bureau of Labor Statistics pamphlet presents directory of publications issued by Office of Productivity and Technology since 1960, listed chronologically under major headings for each program. Also contains short list of bibliographies and listing of studies in progress for which publications should be available soon.

A Directory of Industry Wage Surveys and Union Wage Rate Studies, 1960-71

Bulletin lists industry wage surveys and union wage rate studies conducted by Bureau of Labor Statistics from 1960 through 1971. Brings up to date Directory released in March 1969.

Wages and Tips in Restaurants and Hotels, March 1970

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin, largely statistical, summarizes results of a survey of employer-paid wages and customer tips for selected occupational groups in eating and drinking places and year-round hotels and motels covered by Fair Labor Standards Act. Specify Bulletin 1712. 60 cents.

Characteristics of Agreements Covering 2,000 Workers or More

Second in series of Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletins presenting wide array of data on major collective bargaining substantive provisions. Covers all manufacturing and nonmanufacturing industries except airlines, railroads, and government. Limited solely to noting prevalence of provisions, without providing analytical comments or illustrative clauses. Specify Bulletin 1729. 75 cents.

Wage Chronology—International Harvester Company, 1946-70

Bureau of Labor Statistics report summarizes changes in wage rates and related wage practices negotiated by International Harvester Co. with United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America-Farm Equipment Workers, from April 1946 until June 1955, and International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, since February 1946. Specify Bulletin 1678. 65 cents.

Scientific and Technical Personnel in Industry, 1969

Bureau of Labor Statistics report of results of 1969 survey of scientific and technical personnel in industry includes brief summary of findings; survey methods; the questionnaire, reporting instructions, and definitions used to collect data; and tables. Specify Bulletin 1723. 45 cents.

A Directory of Area Wage Survey, July 1969-June 1971

Booklet lists, by State, publications which have resulted from Bureau of Labor Statistics annual area wage survey program between July 1969 and June 1971.

Labor Law and Practice in Venezuela

One of a Bureau of Labor Statistics series providing background material on labor practices in foreign countries for U.S. businessmen, trade union and labor specialists, consulting economists, and students. Specify BLS Report 386. 70 cents.

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When it comes to telling a story, no one has ever devised a better all-purpose plot than that old standby, boy meets girl. The variations are infinite. Modern technology and enterprising dating services —as befits the age of automation —even have managed to put the computer in the picture, cast in the role of matchmaker. In *Job Story*, a new 16 mm., 22-minute color film produced by the Manpower Administration, these traditional and contemporary plot lines are woven together, and given a new wrinkle. The girl works for the employment service, the boy is looking for a job, and the computer brings them together by finding him one. Computer job matching is an important element in the so-called COMO—for Comprehensive Manpower Office— experiment. The aim of COMO is to develop a modern employment service that meets the needs and merits the confidence of jobseekers and employers. A progress report on COMO begins on page 16 in this issue of MANPOWER. The *Job Story* film can be rented or purchased from the National Audiovisual Center, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20409.